THE HYMNODY OF THE FREE CHURCHES OF SCANDINAVIA:

ITS BACKGROUND AND DEVELOPMENT

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PREFACE

This study was undertaken because of the scarcity of detailed writings in English on the hymnody of the Free Churches of Scandinavia. Ernest Ryden's volume, The Story of Christian Hymnody, is perhaps the only book to give a significant place to the hymnody of Scandinavia. Julian's Dictionary of Hymnology touches on various phases of Scandinavian state-church hymnody but could give no space to that of the free-church tradition. The year of publication, 1892, would preclude the possibility of any such inclusion. Even Albert Bailey's monumental work, The Gospel in Hymns, makes no mention of Scandinavian hymnody.

Dissertations and theses such as Gerhard M. Cartford's "The Contribution of Ludwig Lindeman to the Hymnology of the Norwegian Church," Lee Olof Gustaf Olson's "History of Swedish Church Music," Brynolf Lundholm's "An Analysis of the Swedish Chorale," Carl T. Hjortsvang's "Scandinavian Contributions to American Sacred Music," and Henry Daquin's "Pietism and the Traditional Worship Practices of the Lutheran Church," all touch on the subject to a greater or lesser degree but not in any detail. Thus it has been the purpose of this study and research to trace the development of free-church hymnody in Scandinavia from the Protestant Reformation to the present time.

Chapter One presents a short history of the Reformation in Scandinavia, particularly in Sweden, and its resultant impact on the hymnody of the church. The contribution of Olavus Petri and the

Psalmbok of Jesper Swedberg receive special emphasis. This particular detail concerning the Reformation is justified because of its continuing influence on the hymnody of the Scandinavian Free Churches.

Chapter Two deals with the rise and development of the Free Churches of Scandinavia which were influenced by Anglo-American Free Churches and Moravian Pietism. The Mission Covenant, Methodist, Baptist, and Pentecostal denominations are discussed in their relationship to the entire movement in the Scandinavian countries.

Chapter Three is concerned with the hymnody of the pietist movement in the Scandinavian countries and its background in the hymnody of German Pietism. A sketch of the hymnody and church music practices of the pietists in Germany is included in this chapter.

Chapter Four contains an examination, discussion, and evaluation of the hymns and hymn writers of the Free Churches of Scandinavia with a more detailed treatment of the contributions of the Baptists of Sweden.

The influence of state-church hymnody on the hymnody of the Free Church and a reciprical influence is the concern of Chapter Five. A study of both texts and tunes in representative hymnals was involved in the gathering of materials for this chapter.

Chapter Six presents an evaluation of the present status of free-church hymnody in the Scandinavian countries and contains a short history of the free-church movement among the Scandinavians in the United States and the hymnody of this movement. A rather detailed analysis of denominational hymnals in both Scandinavia and America provided the necessary information for the last two chapters.

Primary sources for this research include the three volume set by the Swedish hymnologist, Oscar Lövgren, Våra Psalm-och Sångdiktare and his Psalm och Sånglexikon, as well as the forewords to the many hymnals and chorale books made available for this study. The three works by Gunnar Westin dealing with the free-church movement in Scandinavia provided most of the historical background material for Chapter Two. The books by Waddams, Latourette, Karl Olsson and Grimm supplemented these detailed histories of Westin. Magazine articles on Scandinavian hymnody of the free-church variety plus the many items of personal correspondence from cooperative persons in Sweden, Norway, and Denmark furnished additional pertinent information, particularly concerning present-day Scandinavian hymnists. Materials from the above-mentioned dissertations shed additional light on information gleaned from other sources, in addition to substantiating the information obtained from the same.

The writer is indebted to Bethel Theological Seminary for the use of the many old hymnals of Scandinavian origin housed in the archives of the library. This courtesy saved many hours of work in tracking down items of primary source materials. Pastors and church musicians in the Twin Cities area have been most gracious in lending hymnals and other books pertinent to this project. Pastors, denominational leaders, and publishers in Scandinavia cooperated to the fullest extent in locating and mailing many free-church denominational hymnals without which this research would have been impossible.

The writer acknowledges with gratitude the help of faculty and staff members at Bethel College and Seminary. Miss Jeannine Bohlmeyer, Associate Professor of English, carefully studied the manuscript and offered helpful suggestions. Dr. Virgil Olson, Professor of Church History, checked the materials of Chapters One and Two for historical inaccuracies. Faculty secretary, Miss Jean Lindblom, spent many hours typing the first complete draft of this dissertation.

The writer's father-in-law, Rev. Joseph E. Tanquist, deserves the highest recognition and expression of thanks for his invaluable help in the preparation of materials for this dissertation. He spent scores of hours in the translation of materials from the Swedish, Norwegian, and Danish languages. All of the translated excerpts and quotes used in this dissertation are his work, and for the most part have been inserted with little or no alteration. Without his help the completion of this project would have been impossible.

Heart-felt thanks and appreciation is expressed to the writer's advisor and counsellor, Dr. Johannes Riedel of the University of Minnesota. Dr. Riedel has given of his time in many sessions in offering helpful suggestions as to the scope of this study as well as materials and procedures. His encouragement over the many years of graduate study has kept the final goal in sight at all times. The help of Dr. R. L. Borg, also of the University of Minnesota, in his offering of helpful suggestions, particularly in the matter of formal structure, is gratefully acknowledged. Last, but not least, a debt of gratitude is expressed to the writer's wife, Dorothea, for the many hours spent in typing the first draft of this dissertation.

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CHAPTER I

THE REFORMATION IN SCANDINAVIA AND ITS HYMNODY

The Church in Sweden in the Sixteenth Century

The fifteenth century saw the Church in Sweden as an established power particularly in the field of politics. The Church grew as a national institution because practically all of the leading clerics were Swedes. Sweden learned by experience that Papal influence hindered the consolidation of the Swedish nation. But in spite of some dissatisfaction with the Pope and the great wealth of the Church, the situation was by no means desperate on the eve of the Swedish Reformation. The need was for consolidation and centralization within the country and freedom from foreign dominance. This could only come about by a change in status of the Church as it then existed. The Reformation was to bring about this change.

The main developments in the Swedish Reformation occurred between the years 1523 and 1593. In 1523 Gustavus Vasa was crowned king of Sweden, an event which ushered in a new era in Sweden's religious and political history. In 1593 the great Council of Uppsala established Lutheranism as the official state religion.

The sixteenth century was a period of unrest in Sweden. There was growing dissatisfaction with the Papacy because of its involvement with Denmark in its invasion of the country and because of its effort to bring Sweden under the Danish crown. The Danish king, Christian II, was able by deceit to emerge victor in his struggle with Sweden. His victory was celebrated in a massacre which occurred in Stockholm in 1520.

Gustavus Vasa, who had been a participant in this rebellion, escaped from incarceration in Denmark in 1520 and returned to Sweden to free his country from Danish rule. This self-styled, zealous emancipator received allegiance from many of the Swedish people and established his first army in the Province of Dalarne. By June of 1523 Sweden had fallen to Vasa, and he was elected king by the Swedish Parliament on June 4. His final confirmation as king had to wait until 1528, due to persistent unrest in foreign and domestic affairs. During this five year period Gustavus formulated plans and policies which were to transform thoroughly the Church in Sweden. Bergendoff thus evaluates the significance of these years:

> The decade 1521-1531 witnessed some of the most important, if not the most important, events in Swedish history. This was the period of the foundation of the modern Swedish State, which has its beginnings in the reign of Gustavus Vasa. During these years, too, came the transformation in language and literature, for the literary productions of this period determined the cultural character of the new nation. And that which is the subject of this investigation, the nature of the Swedish Reformation, can be understood only against the background of these years. This decade saw the transformation of the Church from a wealthy and powerful organization, obedient and loyal to Rome, into a body dependent upon the king for its support and authority, and in matters of doctrine pledged to preach an evangelical faith. The period is full of dramatic interest, and its leading personalities are virile. Our study centers in the man who gave the new nation its spiritual training, and influenced its religious and cultural destiny. But his work would have been impossible without the king, who built a new State and remodeled the ecclesiastical structure.[1]

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[1] Conrad Bergendoff, Olavus Petri and the Ecclesiastical Transformation in Sweden (New York: Macmillan Co., 1928), pp. 1, 2.

That the Church "was the most united, the most powerful and the wealthiest body in the country at the opening of the sixteenth century cannot be doubted."[2] In the year he was elected king, Gustavus realized that the power of Rome had to be reckoned with. This was to be his principal mission in the ensuing years.

Several events in the years 1522-23 were to have significant effect in the development of the Swedish Reformation. Bergendoff discusses the significance of the new bishops thus:

> Successors to the martyred bishops were elected in 1522--in Strengnäs, Magnus Sommar, in Skara, Magnus Haraldson. In 1523 Peder Jakobson was elected to succeed Bishop Otto. The confirmation of these bishops-elect became one of the factors in the Swedish Reformation. The only remaining regularly confirmed bishop was the able Hans Brask, in Linköping. He stood practically alone before the advance of a new government and a new teaching. When his cause was lost, he fled to the Continent (1527).[3]

In 1523 Gustavus made the acquaintance of three more men who were to be influential on him and the whole Reformation in Sweden: Laurentius Andrae, the archdeacon of the Cathedral Church, Olavus Petri, a teacher at the Cathedral School, and Laurentius Petri, the younger brother of Olavus. Olavus was to have the greatest influence on Gustavus. He was called to Stockholm in 1524 to serve as preacher, an appointment which shows how willing the king was to listen to his message attacking the temporal power of the Church. More will be mentioned concerning Olavus Petri and his contribution to the Reformation in Sweden. In passing it should be noted that he spent time in study at the University of Wittenberg and brought many of Luther's ideas and Scriptural interpretations back with him upon his return to Sweden.

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[2] Ibid., p. 5.

[3] Ibid.

Correspondence between Gustavus and the Pope was carried on quite extensively during the latter part of 1523. Neither the king nor the Pope was to compromise or move from his respective position. According to reputable historians, the severance from Rome can be dated as of November 1523, although it was to take four more years of discussion and correspondence before the crisis came. Olavus Petri caused some consternation when, in addition to his preaching of Reformation doctrine, he married. In spite of the bishop's letter of protest, Gustavus upheld the action of Olavus Petri. He was persistent in his overcoming of opposition, and the archbishop was increasingly aware of his impotence to stem the tide of the Reformation as it was slowly but surely being carried out by the king.

Protestant advances in the sixteenth century were many and significant. A few of the rules set forth by the Parliament of Vesterås provide background for this study:

1. The Word of God was to be taught in simplicity.
2. The Gospel was to be taught in all schools.
3. The ability to preach was to be the criterion for ordination.
4. The election of bishops was to be confirmed by the king.
5. The church and the nobility were to derive their power from the Crown.[4]

The Parliament of Vesterås brought the power of the king into focus in no uncertain terms.

Other significant advances in the Protestant cause are worth citing. In February of 1526 the first Protestant book entitled An

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[4] _Ibid_., pp. 36, 37.

Useful Teaching, was published and in August of the same year a translation of the New Testament, ordered by the king, was ready for distribution. Bergendoff says "In their quiet but increasingly strong influence on public opinion, these books laid a foundation in public opinion on which the king continued to build a new State and a new Church-order."[5]

It had been nearly four years since Gustavus Vasa had been elected to the throne of Sweden; and although he had often been reminded of the propriety of a coronation, he wanted to make absolutely sure of his position before proceeding with that pompous ceremony. When his position was believed to be secured, he set the coronation for the Epiphany season of 1528. After further negotiations and appeasements were made with the party of the opposition, the coronation of Gustavus took place on January 12, 1528. Bergendoff describes the procedure at the coronation.

> The preacher of the day was Olavus Petri, and in clear, almost stern, language he read the law of obedience to the people, and the law of responsibility to the king. Five years earlier, at Strengnäs, when Gustavus Vasa had been elected king, he had heard Olavus Petri proclaim the Lutheran doctrines. Since then the king had put some of those doctrines into practice, and on this day an evangelical preacher preached the coronation sermon for an evangelical king in the archepiscopal church of Sweden.[6]

The opposition to the king was not at an end by any means. Even though church polity was only moderately changed, charges were leveled against the reformer-king. Waddams has made this observation in his short history of the Church in Sweden:

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[5] Ibid., p. 22.

[6] Ibid., p. 44.

> At Epiphany 1528 three new bishops were consecrated by Petrus Magni, according to the old ritual, and thus the Apostolical Succession was retained at the beginning of the movement for reform. The same year saw the coronation of Gustaf, who called a Church council at Örebro in the following year, 1529. This Council is interesting in showing the slow way in which developments came. Saints' days were reduced to reasonable proportions, but there was no idea of doing away with the old habits and religious customs. As to ceremonies, most of them were retained and the main emphasis was put on the need for explaining them, so that they should not be superstitious habits. Various steps were taken to improve the knowledge of the clergy; the town priests were to be learned, and able to teach their country brethren.[7]

After the Council at Örebro, revolt continued particularly in the southern part of Sweden. Gustavus was charged with introducing Lutheran heresy, despoiling cloisters and churches and degrading and debasing the sacraments.[8] Among other charges it was declared that he ate meat during Lent and encouraged others to do likewise. Complaints were forthcoming because it was told that the Mass was celebrated in Swedish, the Virgin Mary was no longer venerated, and priests, monks and nuns were forced to marry. To these charges the king replied that whatever was wrong would be righted in due time. A quote from the book by J. G. H. Hoffmann, L'Eglise vit et ne se rend pas concerning the state of worship and theology at this time has been included by Waddams, and partly refutes the charges leveled at the Reformers by those loyal to Rome:

> There was no desire to destroy at any cost: the newly found faith of the Northern people would not allow it; it wanted to christianize, to evangelize, to construct. Catholic customs were retained with the exception of certain practices like the use of holy water and

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[7] H. M. Waddams, The Swedish Church (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1946), p. 14.

[8] Bergendoff, op. cit., p. 49.

> incense, and the blessing of palms. The feasts of the Saints and the Virgin Mary were kept and also the elevation in the Mass, the services of Matins, Vespers and Compline as well as the use of priests' vestments . . . At the same time the Reformation proclaimed the principle of the absolute authority of Holy Scripture in the Church, God's salvation of sinners by grace alone through Jesus Christ, the necessity for prayer and reading of the Bible, which had been completely translated into Swedish in 1541. The Reformation totally rejected all formal and mechanical piety and the traces of paganism which remained in the veneration of relics.[9]

The opposition to the decisions of the Parliament of Västerås and the Council at Örebro testify of the resistance to the Protestant Reformation. Gustavus was yet to encounter more opposition to his reforms ere the church of the Reformation became recognized and tolerated by the party of the opposition. But in one short decade many significant developments had taken place in the church in Sweden. Bergendoff has summarized them thusly:

> At the beginning of this period the nobility had been weak, and the ruler a foreigner, while the Church was strong and independent. At the close, a native king had laid strong foundations for a new dynasty, and attained supreme power in the kingdom. The nobility had been increased and enriched. The Church, on the contrary, had been sundered from Rome, its allegiance transferred to the king, its bishops and archbishop made subservient to the Crown, its wealth confiscated. Even the function of the Church had been redefined, and its goal made evangelical. Before England had broken with Rome, while Denmark and Norway were still struggling with strong Roman hierarchical parties, while the fate of Germany was still undecided, and Calvinism was but in the making, Sweden had, through its leaders, pledged itself to an evangelical Church within an independent State. True, the transformation had been to a great extent political, and the changes effected had transformed the body rather than the soul of the Church. Had

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[9] Waddams, op. cit., p. 19.

> only the will of Gustavus Vasa been the cause of the change, it is a question how long it may have endured. But in the background was a less conspicuous, a silent, but creative personality, whose preaching, whose books and translation, whose personal influence, carried the Reformation into the ranks of the clergy and the masses of the people. Olavus Petri educated the mind and nourished the spirit of the evangelical movement. The spiritual change took much longer than a decade, but it was more thorough and abiding. The king made possible the beginnings of the religious transformation. The Reformer made permanent the transformation of the character of the new Church and State.[10]

Olavus Petri and the Swedish Reformation

As has been indicated previously, Olavus Petri is considered to be foremost among those who sowed the seeds of reform in the Church in Sweden. Because of his contribution in many areas, he is accorded a major place in this brief summary of the Swedish Reformation.

Olavus Petri was born on January 6, 1493, in the town of Örebro which was an important commercial and military city. Little is known about his parents or concerning the early life of either Olavus or his brother Laurentius. In the city of Örebro was a Carmelite monastery which was established in 1418. In all probability it was in this school that the Petri brothers learned much about the teachings of the church in addition to the ordinary curriculum in reading and writing. Instruction was also given in various parts of the liturgy, and memorization of the same was part of the educational procedure.

His formal training, about which comparatively little is known, included two years at the University of Leipzig, (1514-1516), and Wittenberg (1516-1518). The years at Wittenberg were important not only to Olavus but to the entire world. During this time Luther preached against the sale of indulgences, and on that eventful day of October 31, he nailed his ninety-five theses to the door of the church at Wittenberg. Subsequent developments concerning Luther and the church no doubt made deep and lasting impressions on the young student. His contact with the "great reformer" in the classroom had great effect and manifested itself in many ways in Petri's contribution to the Reformation. Bergendoff has evaluated the influence of these years in Wittenberg.

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[10] Bergendoff, op. cit., p. 60.

> What had Olavus Petri received in Wittenberg from 1516 to 1518? We cannot know. But it is hard to believe that Luther had not left enduring marks on his development. He must have lost faith in Scholasticism and come to see in the Bible the only source of spiritual truth. His eyes had been opened to the abuses existing in the Church, and the events of 1518 had shaken the doctrine of the supremacy of the pope. Above all, he had heard of a righteousness of God that is given freely to those who believe, and cannot be earned by any number or kind of good works. At the same time, it should be remembered that he had heard of no division of the Church. The problem was not one of breaking away from the Church; it was rather one of restoring what had been lost or forgotten during the development of abuses and foreign doctrines. Throughout his career Olavus held that in Sweden there had been no falling away from the Church. When, ten years later, he wrote, "We will always claim to be part of that Christian communion which is not limited only to Rome, but exists throughout the whole earth," he was consistent with what he had heard and learned in Wittenberg.[11]

Olavus returned to Sweden sometime in 1519, but the reason for his return cannot be precisely determined. The autumn of 1520 was a most crucial time in Swedish history. It will be remembered that this was the time of the great Blood Bath under the Danish king. According to tradition both Olavus and his brother Laurentius nearly lost their lives, but this cannot be fully substantiated. His later description of the gruesome events indicates that at least he was an eye witness.

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[11] Ibid., p. 75.

Before his ordination to the ministry Olavus was appointed as teacher of the Cathedral School in Strengnäs by Laurentius Andreae, a high administrative officer in that city. This appointment was confirmed in the same year, 1520. In this strategic post he was also given the privilege of preaching in the cathedral. Because of his years of study under Martin Luther, quite naturally the teachings of the great reformer colored the preaching of Olavus. He soon attracted attention and also brought down the wrath of those loyal supporters of the Roman Church. According to Dr. Nicholas Benedicti the following are "Errors" in the preaching and teaching of Olavus:

1. No place in Scripture teaches that St. Anna was the mother of the Virgin Mary.
2. Joseph, the husband of Mary, was a young, not an old man.
3. The true Faith has not previously been preached here.
4. The Mendicants should not be permitted, for they are in violation of Deut. xv.
5. No one ought to trust in man, as in the Virgin or any other saint; our trust should be in God alone, according to Jer. xvii.
6. The office of preaching is the principal one in the Church of God, and greater than that of celebrating the mass.
7. Confraternities of the Psalter of the Blessed Virgin and of other saints ought not to be allowed, for they are fruitless, and without authority of Scripture.
8. Confession should be to God alone, secretly (mentaliter), and not to priests.
9. The Epistle of James is not authentic, so that public confession can be proved by it.[12]

Whatever may be said concerning the validity of these accusations, it is not difficult to detect the Lutheran "slant" in these basic tenets of the young preacher. His attitude toward Scripture and his concept of the church and the mass definitely colored his ministry. Whether his accusers "read in" more to his beliefs and utterances than Olavus really meant to say is open to question and speculation, but one thing is certain--he was to influence Sweden to a great extent in these days of religious upheaval and reform. As teacher in the Cathedral School he greatly influenced Laurentius Andreae who was several years his senior. While the younger was concerned with enriching the Church through a renewed emphasis on the Bible, the elder saw far-reaching implications for both the Church and the State.

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[12] *Ibid.*, pp. 79, 80.

The sphere of Olavus' influence extended to Gustavus Vasa who, as indicated previously, was elected king of Sweden in 1523. As the king heard Olavus preach, he was impressed with the fresh doctrine which was set forth in the sermons. He inquired of the Archdeacon Laurentius concerning the young preacher and his message; in reply Laurentius traced the origin of the movement under Martin Luther and no doubt made clear to the king what he had previously heard about the events and controversy in Wittenberg. Thus it seems that Laurentius was actually the first to enlighten the king and sow seeds of reform in his heart and mind. Laurentius was to be his guide for five years in the "transformation of the structure and spirit of the Church."

In 1524 Olavus was appointed by the king to a new post as secretary of the City Council in Stockholm. He also served as preacher at the St. Nicholas Church in the capital city. When the new pastor, Nicolaus Stecker, came to St. Nicholas, it meant that two former students of Luther were in strategic posts in Stockholm. The atmosphere was now conducive to the continuation of the work of the Reformation and great things were to be accomplished in the ensuing years.

The year 1526 was important in the history of the Swedish Reformation. As has been previously mentioned, in February of that year appeared the book entitled An Useful Teaching, in which was set forth the basic Biblical doctrine concerning man and God's dealings with him, and in August of the same year came the first translation of the New Testament in Swedish. The royal coat of arms was printed on the last page indicating the king's approval of the work. The authorship of these volumes has been disputed over a period of years. Since the sixteenth century, credit for the Biblical translation has gone to both Laurentius Andreae and Olavus Petri. Scholars have credited both Andreae and Petri with the authorship of An Useful Teaching, although Olavus is generally conceded to be the author. The discovery (in 1908) of an unknown work by Olavus Petri shows a close identity to An Useful Teaching. The difference in language between this volume and Olavus' court records presents still another problem in the authenticity of its authorship. It still remains an open question with some reputable scholars. There are those who have even had questions concerning the translators of the New Testament. It has been good intellectual exercise for those who have pursued these questions, but in the final analysis they are not crucial to this particular study.

In Olavus Petri, Martin Luther had one of the greatest exponents of his doctrines. Like Luther, he was called upon on many occasions to defend the faith with all of its implications for the Church and State. His first polemical writing, Reply to an Unchristian Letter, appeared in March of 1527, directed to a Danish monk, Paulus Eliae, who had strong sympathy with the Roman Church and tried to refute the teachings of Luther in a letter which had wide circulation.

In the work Olavus defends Luther and challenges the accusations of Paulus dealing with such matters as Luther's teaching on faith vs. works, the sacraments, the temporal power of the Church, the nature of revelation and the doctrine of the saints.

In addition to his defense of Luther, other polemical works by Olavus appeared between 1527 and 1528. Again the authorship of some is questionable. The following are among those credited to Olavus:

A Little Book concerning the Sacraments

A Short Instruction Concerning Marriage

A Little Book on Monastic Life

Concerning the Word of God

It is evident from all of Olavus' activity in the Swedish Reformation that his writings had a definite purpose in his defense against charges and for religious and political reform. Their purpose was to enhance the progress of the Reformation in his own country.[13]

Olavus Petri's Contribution to the Liturgy

Of basic interest to this particular study is the contribution of Olavus Petri to the whole area of liturgies. Bergendoff has evaluated his contribution in the opening paragraph of chapter five of his book:

> In regard to the form and material of the service in the Swedish Church no one has had so directive an influence as he. The form of service suggested by him is in use today, with few modifications, in the Established Church of Sweden. His collections of songs laid the foundation of the Swedish Hymn Book. His Manual of Service, or "Handbook," has the distinction of being the first of its kind to appear in any Protestant Church. His Postils went far to

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[13] *Ibid.*, p. 146.

> create the body and soul of the preaching of the Church of his own country. To the determination of the form of worship and of the character of religious instruction Olavus Petri meant to the Swedish Church what Luther meant to the Evangelical Church in Germany. The genius of the Swedish Reformer, here as elsewhere, manifests itself not in creation of new forms and doctrines, but in selection of material produced by the German Reformation and emphasis on what he considered essential and best.[14]

The Swedish Mass (Svenska Messan) first appeared in Stockholm in 1531 although from its subtitle we learn that it was in use before that, probably by 1528. In the same year Olavus Petri defended the use of the vernacular in a pamphlet written entitled Why The Mass Ought To Be Held in Swedish. Many consider the Svenska Messan to be the Swedish counterpart of Luther's Deutsche Messe. This can be readily understood. Bergendoff has made an interesting comparison between the two in his monumental work. Similarities between the Swedish Mass and others in the German have also been discovered. Bergendoff goes into great detail in comparing it with one found in Sluter's Low German Songbook of 1531. The Swedish Mass by Olavus contains an appendage of the Seven Pentetential Psalms translated into Swedish, with the suggestion that these be used as Introits to the service.

Bergendoff suggests that Olavus' work was not merely a translation from the German, but that he selected the form in accordance with the needs of his own people, excluding and including certain items of the liturgy and offering suggestions as to the execution of those which were used. He has been accused of Calvinistic tendencies in his desire to drop the singing of the mass, but these charges cannot be fully substantiated. He did attempt to adapt the mass to the conditions in Sweden at the time. The Roman Mass was still popular and continued to be used as late as 1539 when the Swedish Mass was finally accepted and approved.

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[14] Ibid., p. 147.

Bergendoff has asserted that the collection of songs of Olavus Petri became the foundation of the Swedish Hymn-Book. After a rather cursory discussion of the introduction of Christianity into Sweden and the Swedish Reformation under Gustavus Vasa, the brothers Petri and other leaders, it is natural to follow with the early hymnody of the Reformation Church and ultimately to show its influence on the hymnody of the Free Church of Scandinavia.

One of the works by Olavus Petri published in 1526 was the first collection of Swedish hymns which later became the Psalmbok. There is some disagreement as to how many hymns were contained in this pamphlet-type book, but it is believed that there were as many as twelve, including five or six originals and an equal number of translations from Luther's first collection of 1524. The book passed through at least two editions in which some changes were made from the original. The edition of 1530 is believed to have contained mostly originals by Olavus and some additional stanzas to one of the original number in the 1526 book. According to Lövgren, complete copies are extant of the edition of 1536. This contains forty-six songs of which Olavus wrote no more than eight. Probably this was the last book of its kind published under his sponsorship.[15]

The 1536 song book bears a most interesting and complete title: Svenska Sångor ellar Wisor nu på nytt prentade forökade, och under en annan skick ä tilförenna utsalte (Swedish songs or hymns newly printed, enlarged and published in a different form from the preceding one). The inclusion of the "Wisor" would indicate a carry-over from the edition of 1531. The book with this title went through two more editions in 1542 and 1543. In 1549 the last and an enlarged edition of this series was printed with a title which was to be the official one for many years to come, Then Svenska Psalmboken.

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[15] Oscar E. Lövgren, Våra Psalm Och Sångdiktare. 3 vols. (Stockholm: Svenska Missionsförbundet Förlag, 1937), I, p. 65.

An examination of the available hymns of Olavus Petri reveals a close affinity between the German and Swedish Reformations. In the 1530 edition some of the hymns are translations of their German models found in several German collections. This would be a natural procedure due to Olavus' close connection with Martin Luther and German hymnody. The books which appear to have been the most influential in the compilation of the Swedish hymnal seem to come from Low-German sources, i.e. those of Speratus (1526) and Sluter (1531). It is not possible to include a detailed analysis or comparative study between the German and Swedish sources at this juncture, but it is worth noting that in the 1536 book are to be found hymns based on well-known psalms from the German, among them "A Mighty Fortress." Occasional hymns are included such as were to be used for special portions of the Mass and seasonal celebrations.

Again it is difficult to ascertain that Olavus Petri edited, translated and published these books, but a lack of evidence to the contrary seems to point to him as the logical person. The strongest argument in his favor, as Bergendoff points out, is the fact that the Swedish originals are parallel to passages in other of Olavus' prose writings.[16]

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[16] Bergendoff, op. cit., p. 165.

Lövgren has indicated that in the 1530 Psalmbok there are included a supplement of four ditties (visor) about the anti-christ and his characteristics. These are polemics directed against the Pope and the practices of the Roman Church. No doubt they were written when "defamatory outpourings were freely repeated in daily on-going, at a time when the battle was waged between Catholicism and Protestantism in Sweden." The author appears to have been Olof Svensson, a school teacher in Stockholm.[17]

Prior to the Reformation there was an abundance of Latin hymns peculiar to the Scandinavian countries. G. E. Klemming of Stockholm collected enough hymns for a four-volume set and published them in 1885-1887 under the title Latinska Sånger Fordom Användai Svenska Kyrkor och Skolor. No doubt some were sung between stanzas of sequences as well as during some of the office hours of the church. These continued to be used in the worship of the Lutheran congregations.

During the early days of the Swedish Reformation the Latin was not always displaced by the vernacular in the singing of hymns. In one of the letters of Gustavus Vasa he makes a comparison between the two choices in singing, an indication that Latin was still used on occasion in the singing of hymns as well as in the regular service of the Mass. But singing in the vernacular was firmly entrenched in the church in Sweden and gained in popularity as did the Swedish New Testament.

Regarding the practice of singing in the church, it should be pointed out that Olavus defended the singing of hymns by the people on scriptural grounds in his preface to the 1536 edition. In Germany books were primarily for use by the officiating clergy and perhaps the choir, and it may be assumed that the Swedish books as well were for the same purpose. Basically, however, Olavus' idea was the same as Luther's, that people should be permitted to express their faith in both private and corporate worship by participating in the singing of hymns. Lövgren has set the year of 1571 when the hymns came into 7 general usage. Many people prior to this time did not seem to understand the purpose of the old and new songs and degraded them by chanting them while drinking in the ale houses "without regard for godliness or Christian discipline aimed for in the churches."[18]

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[17] Lövgren, op. cit., I, p. 70.

But singing was a "must" at this time of reformation and renewal, and the new-found faith found expression in outbursts of prayer and praise. Thus, like Martin Luther, Olavus Petri contributed to their spiritual development and edification in many ways, not the least of which was in his supply of Christian hymns in their native tongue. Although Julian gives credit to Laurentius Petri as the father of Swedish hymnody, the honor must go to Olavus.

Bergendoff has paid tribute to Olavus Petri at the end of his book in a most fitting manner:

> It is not too much to claim for Olavus Petri that he was the prophet of the Swedish evangelical communion. In the days of disintegration and destruction of the old, he saw clearly the character of a new church. His writings reveal an understanding of the fundamental principles of the Christian community, and his endeavor was to put first things first. The extreme measures adopted by Gustavus Vasa toward the material organization of the Church, time and wiser decisions could remedy. But had the period of the transformation lacked the spiritual truth and wisdom and candor of Olavus Petri, it would have lacked a soul, and the Reformation would have destroyed spiritual as well as material treasures. Olavus Petri knew the power of destruction. He preferred the power of construction.

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[18] _Ibid._, p. 69.

> The heart rather than the altar must witness the first reformation. He set himself to the task of making available the treasures of Scripture, liturgy, and song of the Christian Church to his fellow countrymen. He pointed out more insistently the things that should be kept than the things that should be abolished. Patiently, fearlessly, humbly, faithfully he used every mode of expression in his power to build up the true invisible realities of Christian religion. The further history of the Swedish Reformation, and of the Swedish Church, was a realization of the ideals presented by Olavus Petri long before that Church understood the nobility and fulness of those ideals. He taught the Swedish people to read, but more than that, he taught them the relationship of the Book to their life in home and Church and State.[19]

Hymns and Collections of the Late Reformation

After the death of Olavus Petri, his brother Laurentius (1499-1573) succeeded him as the spiritual leader of Swedish Protestantism and the first evangelical archbishop. Olavus had radical leanings as leader of the Swedish Reformation, whereas Laurentius tended to be more conservative. Like Luther he desired to retain what was good in the Roman service. His efforts to save Gregorian Chant were not successful due to the problem of accent and the new language, a situation which the Roman Church is facing today in its liturgical reforms. The Roman Mass had officially been forbidden in Stockholm around the year 1539, and in 1571 Laurentius suggested some six chorales as substitutes for the Introit and the Graduale. However, Gregorian melodies were used with vernacular words for a considerable time, but finally gave way to Protestant songs; purely Latin hymns continued to be used into the seventeenth century. According to Brynolf Lundholm, the Gregorian Chant continued to lose ground over a period of thirty years, and with the Radical Handbook of 1614 the Latin texts were thrown out, the roots of Gregorian elements were cut off, and the way was paved for congregational participation.[20]

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[19] Bergendoff, op. cit., pp. 250, 251.

Laurentius continued the work of his brother in issuing several editions of the Psalmbok. The first under his sponsorship was published in 1567 and was the most complete to date, containing approximately ninety-three hymns. Subsequent editions appeared in 1572 and 1576 with one hundred and two and one hundred and fourteen hymns respectively, which represented a great deal of new material. (The growth in size and quality in fifty years is worth noting.) In the 1522 book there appeared a song against drunkeness. That evangelical preachers needed to be admonished in this respect is indicated by the content of the song!

Laurentius Petri was succeeded as archbishop by one of similar name, Laurentius Petri Gothus (1530-1579), his son-in-law. While Laurentius the elder is considered to have been one of the best interpreters of Luther's psalms, Gothus and Olavus Petri rank highest as Swedish psalm writers.[21] Their psalms have appeared widely in Swedish hymnals.

Laurentius Jonae Gestritius (d. 1597) is credited with the publication of a songbook, Psalms, Spiritual Ditties, and Songs of Praise, which was published twenty years after his death. For the most part its contents consist of translations from German and Latin sources.

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[20] Brynolf Lundholm, "An Analysis of the Swedish Chorale" (unpublished Master's thesis, Eastman School of Music, Rochester, New York, 1937), pp. 14, 15.

[21] Lee Olof Gustaf Olson, "History of Swedish Church Music" unpublished D.S.M. dissertation, Union Theological Seminary, New York, 1945), p. 39.

An edition of the Swedish Psalmbok appeared in the year 1586 in which there was appended an almanac and a home physician section containing the twelve signs of the Zodiac and their relation to the different parts of the human anatomy.[22] A much later edition in 1642 included among several interesting items some Danish originals as well as a "birch-bark song" called Nävervisan. Evidently the latter was so called because the tune was played by blowing on birch bark placed between the hands. Another novelty connected with this song was the arrangement of the fifteen verses in an acrostic spelling the author's name, a practice which was common at this time.[23]

Hymmody in Post Reformation Sweden

The seventeenth century witnessed an increased interest in the hymmody of the Church. Congregational singing was now an accepted and enthusiastic practice and music became prominent in the Church and school. Lundholm has pointed out that many books like those of Petrus Rudbeck were published, which contained Psalms which were suitable for the texts of each Sunday, and which had greatly extended melodies. These Italian-style melodies were popular among the Swedish people. The Chorale developed into an accompanied chant-like song as in Germany, and the rise of part singing also played an important part in the development of congregational songs in Sweden.[24]

In the seventeenth century there was continued interest in the texts of the German church songs. The church in Sweden as well as

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[22] Lövgren, op. cit., I, pp. 77, 78.

[23] Ibid., pp. 78, 79.

[24] Lundholm, op. cit., p. 16.

Germany was still on guard against Catholicism, and the inroads of Calvinism were of great concern. Lövgren has observed that the Church was:

> . . . contending for pure doctrine but with scant emphasis on the spiritual life. But even in these dark days there appeared a number of psalm writers who dwelt on the passion of Christ. It is remarkable that a time when men tried to objectify spiritual things the new songs of individual experience came into prominence.[25]

At this time a number of German originals were translated into the Swedish language for use in corporate worship or else were used as a basis for new evangelical songs. Among the German writers appearing in Swedish books are the following:

Basilus Fortsch (d. 1619)
Johann Arndt (1555-1621)
Martin Rutiluis (1550-1618)
Johann Gross (1564-1654)
Johannes Olearius (1611-1684)
Johann Heermann (1585-1647)
Johann Rist (1607-1667)
Paul Gerhardt (1607-1676)

Prominent among the Swedish translators of German Psalms are the following:

Andreas Petri Amnelius (1638-1692)
Hakan Ausius (d. 1653)
Jacob Boethius (1647-1718)
Petrus Brask (1650-1690)
Bishop Johannes Geselius Jr. (1647-1718)

Besides translations from the German texts more and more interest was being shown in supplying the Swedish Church with native hymnody. Lövgren has included several names among the writers of seventeenth century Sweden in his first volume:

Hequin Spegel (1645-1714)

Spegel held bishoprics in Skara and Lindköping and was one of the foremost song writers previous to J. O. Wallin. Only a few of his verses have survived.

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[25] Lövgren, op. cit., p. 81.

Israel Kolmodin (1643-1709)

Kolmodin was a Lutheran pastor and the author of numerous Swedish psalms.

Jacob Arrhenius (1642-1729)

Arrhenius, a layman, and professor at the University of Uppsala, composed songs of pietistic flavor and published a popular collection, many of which centered around the person of Jesus.

Gustaf Ollon (1646-1704)

Ollon was another layman, whose songs were criticized as being too enthusiastic, mystical and fanatical.

Erik Lindschöld (1634-1690)

Lindschöld was a member of the Swedish Parliament, court poet and the writer of a few songs used by the Church in Sweden.[26]

Jesper Swedberg and the Psalmboken of 1695

The seventeenth century in Sweden, as has been mentioned before, was a time of great productivity in the field of hymnody. Clergy and laity alike were expressing their new faith in poetic outbursts, resulting in both worthy and unworthy poetry "on the market." The increase in hymns naturally led to the compilation and publishing of new books to be used officially and unofficially by the Church in Sweden.

Mention has already been made of the editions of 1586 and 1642 in which supplemental verses were included, but the next "official" hymnbook was Gamla Uppsala psalmboken of 1622 or the "old" Uppsala

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[26] *Ibid.*, pp. 125-140.

Psalmboken as it later became known. Although this hymnal had no royal confirmation, it was accepted by the Swedish church until 1645 and became a model for future books. It contained most of the psalms in use in that day. More officially recognized was the hymnal of 1645, Then Svenska Uppsalapsalmboken (The Swedish Uppsala Psalmbook). A committee was appointed by the Swedish Riksdag to oversee its publication; and while it was accepted as the "official" hymnal, the use of others was not forbidden. One other hymnal mentioned by Hjortsvang and Olson is entitled Åbopsalmboken of 1673. Little information has been available concerning this book but Olson has evaluated it as the most important of the several which followed that of 1645.[27]

Uppsala Psalmboken, according to Lövgren, was to serve the churches of the entire Swedish kingdom, but as was previously the case, more and more songs were being written and coming into use with a resultant confusion. Hequin Spegel had been entrusted with the overseeing and editing of a new book, but nothing came of this appointment by the "committee" because the king had approached Jasper Swedberg (1653-1735) to be chairman of the new project. Swedberg was an ordained minister and had also been consecrated as bishop of Skara in 1732. As preacher in the king's court he was loyal to the Lutheran faith but showed signs of sympathy toward the pietistic movement.

Work on the new book began in 1691 when Swedberg conferred with Spegel concerning it. He was careful not to make drastic changes in the old and well-loved psalms but took more liberty with those of newer vintage. In 1694 the book was sanctioned by the king after careful scrutiny by duly appointed "readers," and officially published. This

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[27] Olson, op. cit., p. 41.

Gamla-Psalmboken, as it later became known, contained 413 "psalms," of which Swedberg was supposed to have composed sixteen, with twenty translations also by him.

As soon as the book was put on the market, a storm of protest and criticism arose concerning it. It was attacked for its heretical teaching, and Swedberg was accused of propagating doctrines contrary to the Lutheran faith. Swedberg did not deny the charges but simply stated that the "psalms" which were cited had for the most part been included in early books. Lövgren feels that the critics were stirred up by some leading jealous preachers of the day who had personal grievances against Swedberg. However, the king ordered the book withdrawn and Swedberg, who had invested much of his personal funds in its publication, sustained considerable loss. He related later that his work had come to good use in the United States where the Swedes did not detect errors in the songs.[28]

The archbishop of Uppsala was charged with the revision of the 1694 book. This revision consisted of the deletion of seventy-eight songs and the addition of nine others selected by the archbishop and the theological faculty of the University of Uppsala. The work of Swedberg is in bold evidence, especially in the translations. Completed in 1695, the revised edition was adopted in 1698 and declared to be the "authorized book for the entire realm." The Swedberg psalmbook remained unsurpassed in usage and popularity until the J. O. Wallin edition of 1819.[29]

Waddams' estimate of Swedberg's monumental volume is here quoted:

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[28] Lövgren, op. cit., p. 81.

[29] Ibid., p. 124.

> The Swedish Hymn-book of 1695 owed much to Svedberg's inspiration. This book had a great influence on Church life, and also deeply affected Christian life in the homes of the people. In addition it also influenced cultural and artistic development, and stands in the forefront of a great Swedish tradition of hymnody.[30]

The Reformation in Denmark and Norway

Outside of Germany, the popularity of Luther's teachings is seen almost solely in the Scandinavian countries where the Reformation was closely linked with the political, social, and economic life of the people. Students like Olavus Petri who had studied at Wittenberg and returned to Scandinavia, plus German students who settled in the north countries, spread the teachings of Lutheranism in these localities. The main impetus for the spread of this new religious movement, however, came from the rulers themselves, as has been seen in the great part Gustavus Vasa played in Swedish religious life.

The Union of Kalmar in 1397 was supposedly an agreement whereby the three Scandinavian countries would be united under the Danish king. Each country retained its laws and customs, and the Swedes especially were rebellious against foreign rule. The Danish king, Christian II, was merely a figure-head as he continued to lose power, and quite generally the nobles and clergy increased in power and wealth. By the time of the Reformation half the land in Denmark was in the hands of the clergy.

The king had more success in Denmark than in Sweden. Although he ignored his promises made before his accession to the throne, he declared in favor of the peasants and townsmen by his actions toward the nobility. Rebellion ensued, and in 1523 he was deposed by the nobility and the clergy and Duke Frederick was proclaimed king.

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[30] Waddams, op. cit., p. 24.

The new king was divided in his loyalty between clergy and nobility. He made use of Lutheranism to attain his own desired ends by encouraging the spread of Reformation teaching. In 1524 the first Danish version of the New Testament appeared followed by a new version in 1529 edited by Christian Petersen, the "father of Danish literature."

Frederick virtually assumed the position of the pope when in 1526 he "repudiated the papal nominee to the archbishopric of Lund, and with the consent of the royal Council confirmed another candidate and retained the confirmation fees instead of sending them to the pope."[31]

The Lutheran cause was further strengthened in Denmark when Frederick's son, Christian, who began to introduce the Lutheran service into the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein, became ruler in 1526. He appointed court chaplains, thus freeing them from the control of Rome. Although he made some concessions when his accusers rose up against him, the Reformation spread rapidly in Denmark as it did in Sweden. When Christian III became king in 1536, Lutheranism was declared the state religion at the national assembly in Copenhagen. The Church Ordinance approved by Martin Luther was adopted by the National Assembly of Odense in 1539 as the basic law of the Church of Denmark. The king became head of the church; and schools, hospitals, and churches came under the jurisdiction of the appointed bishops.

Most church historians agree that no preparation had been made for the Reformation in Norway. The reform in the early stages took the form of plundering of wealthy churches and monasteries rather than the preaching of any new reformation doctrines. Norwegian antipathy to Frederic I and Duke Christian was exhibited by Norway's participation in the Danish civil war which grew out of the attempt of Christian II to regain his throne. Upon the victory of Christian III in Denmark and the institution of the Lutheran Church as the state religion, Norway was compelled to become a province of Denmark.

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[31] Harold J. Grimm, The Reformation Era, 1500-1650 (New York: Macmillan Co., 1954, 1965), p. 238.

The advent of Lutheranism in Norway followed naturally. The propagation of the faith was somewhat thwarted due to the fact that teachers and preachers were few and the Danish language generally was not understood by the rank and file of the Norwegian people. Norway resented the imposition of the new faith, and unrest and dissatisfaction resulted. In reality the religious awakening in Norway had to wait until the eighteenth century, although by order of the king Lutheranism was established as it had been in Denmark.

The ordinances of the Roman Church forbade the laity to preach or sing in the services of the church, so in all probability hymns were not sung in Denmark except perhaps on special occasions. It is presumed that such singing could not be prohibited in the homes or private gatherings. Hans Thomisson includes five "old hymns" in his hymnal which was one of the important early hymnals in Denmark. He explained that these hymns were proof "that even during recent times of error there were pious Christians, who by the grace of God, preserved the true Gospel. And though these songs were not sung in the churches--which were filled with songs in Latin that the people did not understand--they were sung in the homes and before the doors."[32]

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[32] J. C. Aaberg, Hymns and Hymnwriters of Denmark (Des Moines: The Committee on Publication of the Danish Evangelical Lutheran Church in America, 1945), quoting from the hymnal by Hans Thomison, p. 10.

Alternating lines of Danish and Latin indicate that in all probability the hymns were sung responsively. Hymns to the Virgin Mary as well as those of legendary character were favorites among the earliest of Danish hymns. Of the latter type is one of the favorite Christmas hymns of Denmark which in its beautiful recast by Grundtvig is still a favorite among the Danish people:

Christmas with gladness sounds,
Joy abounds
When praising God, our Father,
We gather.
We were in bondage lying,
But He hath heard our prayer.
Our inmost need supplying,
He sent the Savior here.
Therefore with praises ringing,
Our hearts for joy are singing:
  All Glory, praise and might
  Be God's for Christmas night.

Right in a golden year,
Came He here.
Throughout a world confounded
Resounded
The tidings fraught with gladness
For every tribe of man
That He hath borne our sadness
And brought us joy again,
That He in death descended,
Like sun when day is ended,
  And rose on Easter morn
  With life and joy reborn.

He hath for every grief
Brought relief.
Each grateful heart His praises
Now raises.
With angels at the manger,
We sing the Savior's birth,
Who wrought release from danger
And peace to man on earth,
Who satisfies our yearning.
And grief to joy is turning
  Till we with Him arise
  And dwell in Paradise.[33]

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[33] *Ibid.*, pp. 10, 11.

Early Danish hymns, like the Swedish, were translations of Latin. Two of these were Stabat Mater Dolorosa and Dies Est Lactilia in Ortu Regali, the latter recast by Grundtvig as Joy Is The Guest of Earth Today.

Among the earliest of Danish originals prior to the Reformation are the following:

1. I Will Now Hymn His Praises Who All My Sin Hath Borne
2. On Mary, Virgin Undefiled Did God Bestow His Favor
3. O Bride of Christ, Rejoice - (Advent Hymn)

"All . . . breathe a truly evangelical spirit and testify to a remarkable skill in the use of a language so sorely neglected."[34]

The best known of all the Pre-Reformation hymns from Denmark is entitled by Thomisson "The Old Christian Day Song." Three manuscript copies are preserved in the library at Uppsala, Sweden, the oldest of which is dated around 1450. The song itself is thought to have been written before the fifteenth century. Both Denmark and Sweden claim its possible origin.

Aaberg has included Grundtvig's revision in his book:

> With gladness we hail the blessed day
> Now out of the sea ascending,
> Illuming the earth upon its way
> And cheer to all mortals lending.
> God grant that His children everywhere
> May prove that the night is ending.
>
> How blest was that wondrous midnight hour
> When Jesus was born of Mary!
> Then dawned in the East with mighty power
> The day that anew shall carry
> The light of God's grace to every soul
> That still with the Lord would tarry.

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[34] Ibid., p. 11.

Should every creature in song rejoice,
And were every leaflet singing,
They could not His grace and glory voice,
Thought earth with their praise were ringing,
For henceforth now shines the Light of Life,
Great joy to all mortals bringing.

Like gold is the blush of morning bright,
When day has from death arisen.
Blest comfort too holds the peaceful night
When skies in the sunset glisten.
So sparkle the eyes of those whose hearts
In peace for God's summons listen.

Then journey we to our fatherland,
Where summer reigns bright and vernal.
Where ready for us God's mansions stand
With thrones in their halls supernal.
So happily there with friends of light
We joy in the peace eternal.[35]

The significance of this song in Pre-Reformation Danish hymnody is expressed by Aaberg thus:

> In this imperishable song, Pre-Reformation hymnody reached its highest excellence, an excellence that later hymnody seldom has surpassed. "The Old Christian Day Song" shows, besides, that Northern hymnwriters even "during the time of popery" had caught the true spirit of Evangelical hymnody. Their songs were few, and they were often bandied about like homeless waifs, but they embodied the purest Christian ideals of that day and served in a measure to link the old church with the new.[36]

As was the case in Sweden, hymnody played a large part in the Danish Reformation. The Romanists were caustic in their criticism of the use of Danish "ballads" in the service of worship. Since these songs of pre-Reformation vintage proved to be so popular in Denmark, the leaders of Lutheranism used them to great advantage in the Protestant cause.

The earliest collection in Danish hymnody and perhaps the first complete hymnal of the North was published by Hans Mortensen in 1528.

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[35] *Ibid.*, p. 12.

[36] *Ibid.*

Julian considers him to have been the first evangelical preacher in Malmö and the father of Danish hymnody. Included in the collection are translations from Latin, German, and Swedish plus some Danish originals and a liturgy for the morning service. The book grew in popularity, and in 1529 a new edition was published by Mortensen in Rostock. He was aided in this revision by Arvid Petersen and Hans Spendemager. It contained thirty new hymns and liturgies for the various Sunday services and is entitled Een Ny Hanbog med Psalmer og Aandelige Lofsange. (A new handbook with psalms and spiritual songs of praise . . .) Simultaneously with the various editions of this more or less official Danish hymnal small collections were made by Hans Tausen, Arvid Petersen, and others. At a meeting of the Protestant leaders in Copenhagen, it was decided to revise these collections and combine them into one book. Thus the first common Danish hymnal was published in 1531. This was used until 1544 when it was revised by Hans Jensen. The Danish Psalmebog of 1569 compiled and revised by Hans Thomisson succeeded the 1544 edition. Known as Thomisson's Psalmebog, it contained some 268 hymns, psalms, and sequences in both Latin and Danish, set to appropriate tunes. Its popularity is shown by its numerous reprints and general usage in the Danish church for almost 150 years.

Aaberg decries the fact that although in less than fifty years the Reformation in Denmark had produced one of the finest hymnals of the period, it did not produce a single hymn writer of merit.[37] As has been indicated, the final hymnal contained translations and some originals but no poems of real merit. Aaberg has observed that although people loved these new hymns and clung to them for many years, when the newer and more worthy hymns appeared the old ones came into disuse and very few are now in the Danish hymnal.[38]

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[37] Ibid., p. 14.

The first notable hymn writer of the Danish Church was Hans Christensen Sthen who failed to be accorded a place by Julian. He was born about 1540 in Roskilde. Little is known of his early life, but he is thought to have been well-educated, excelling in oratory, writing, and translating. Despite many adversities, he was for a long time the very successful pastor of the Lutheran Church in Malm. He became famous as a writer through two small volumes of poetry entitled A Small Handbook Containing Diverse Prayers and Songs with Some Rules for Life (1578) and A Small Wander Book (1591).

Aaberg has provided translations of three of his very fine hymns which reflect the deep Christian devotion and humble spirit of their author:

Morning Hymn

The gloomy night to morning yields,
So brightly the day is breaking;
The sun ascends over hills and fields,
And birds are with song awaking.
    Lord, lend us Thy counsel and speed our days,
    The light of Thy grace surround us.

Our grateful thanks to God ascend,
Whose mercy guarded our slumber.
May ever His peace our days attend
And shield us from troubles somber.
    Lord, lend us Thy counsel and speed our days,
    The light of Thy grace surround us.

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[38] Ibid., pp. 14, 15.

Redeem us, Master, from death's strong hand,
Thy grace from sin us deliver;
Enlighten us till with Thine we stand,
And make us Thy servants ever.
    Lord, lend us Thy counsel and speed our days,
    The light of Thy grace surround us.

Then shall with praise we seek repose
When day unto night hath yielded,
And safe in Thine arms our eyelids close
To rest by Thy mercy shielded.
    Lord, lend us Thy counsel and speed our days,
    The light of Thy grace surround us.[39]

Devotional Hymn

O Lord, my heart is turning
To Thee with ceaseless yearning
And praying for Thy grace.
Thou art my sole reliance
Against my foes' defiance;
Be Thou my stay in every place.

I offer a confession
Of my severe transgression;
In me is nothing good.
But, Lord, Thou wilt not leave me
And, like the world, deceive me;
Thou hast redeemed me with Thy blood.

Blest Lord of Life most holy,
Thou wilt the sinner lowly
Not leave in sin and death;
Thine anger wilt not sever
The child from Thee forever
That pleads with Thee for life and breath.

O Holy Spirit, guide me!
With wisdom true provide me;[40]

Sthen's "Name" Hymn

(In its unabbreviated form the first letters of the eight stanzas spell his name):

Lord Jesus Christ,
My Savior blest,
My refuge and salvation,
I trust in Thee,

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[39] *Ibid.*, p. 16.

[40] *Ibid.*, pp. 16, 17.

Abide with me,
Thy word shall be
My shield and consolation.

I will confide,
What'e'er betide,
In Thy compassion tender.
When grief and stress
My heart oppress,
Thou wilt redress
And constant solace render.

When grief befalls
And woe appalls
Thy loving care enfolds me.
I have no fear
When Thou art near,
My Savior dear;
Thy saving hand upholds me.

Lord, I will be
Alway with Thee
Wherever Thou wilt have me.
Do Thou control
My heart and soul
And make me whole;
Thy grace alone can save me.

Yea, help us, Lord,
With one accord
To love and serve Thee solely,
That henceforth we
May dwell with Thee
Most happily
And see Thy presence, holy.[41]

One more author deserves a place among Danish hymnists, although he did not make a lasting contribution to the field. In 1623 Anders Christensen Arrebo, Bishop of Tronhjem, published a metrical psalter containing a few hymns in addition to the Psalms of David. The volume never received wide acceptance or usage. The Danish Church clung tenaciously to the "old favorites" of Thomisson's hymnal which songs "were no longer imprinted on the pages of a book but in the very heart and affection of a nation."[42]

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[41] Ibid., pp. 17, 18.

[42] Ibid., p. 18.

During the Reformation period and well into the eighteenth century, Denmark and Norway had the same hymnody. This is understandable in the light of the previous discussion concerning the lack of real enthusiasm in Norway for the Reformation and the strong ties between the two countries. According to Julian, although the Norwegians have allowed themselves considerable freedom in their choice of hymns, they have in the main followed the lead of Denmark.

Summary

From its inception the Christian Church has been known for its use of music, especially hymnody, in the propagation and expression of its faith. In all three countries of Scandinavia, the church has witnessed a continual development in the writing and use of hymns from the time Christianity was introduced to the present day.

In Sweden one of the great contributors to the cause of the Reformation was Olavus Petri who not only inspired the reformer-king, Gustavus Vasa, by his preaching but also laid the foundation for the hymnody of the Swedish Church through his translations, original hymns, and the compilation of the earliest hymnbooks. Some of his hymns survive to this day in the State Church as well as the Free churches of his native land. His immediate successors carried on the work begun by him, and the heritage of Swedish hymnody has continually been enriched by their dedicated efforts.

The Reformation in Norway and more particularly in Denmark produced works in the field of hymnody just as significant as those in Sweden though less in number. From the Mortensen hymnal of 1531 to the hymns of Hans Christensen Sthen the Church has been edified by the poetic writings of men, limited in talent, but nevertheless intent on expressing their faith. The aim of this study is to trace the development of Scandinavian hymnody from the early beginnings of this chapter to the present day.

CHAPTER II

THE RISE AND EARLY DEVELOPMENT OF THE FREE CHURCHES IN SCANDINAVIA

The Pietistic Movement

Just as the Lutheran Reformation was a reaction to the status and practices of the Roman Church, so Pietism was a reaction to conditions, emphases, and practices of established Lutheranism. It could be considered a "counter reformation" in the broadest meaning of the term.

The Book of Concord had been accepted in 1580, and the worship practices of the State Church flourished during the sixteenth century. Following this period of prosperity and growth the Reformation church went through a period of decline during the Thirty Years War (1618-1648). During this time churches were plundered and destroyed, pastors were persecuted and killed, and the spiritual life of the Church dropped to a very low level.

There followed in the wake of the Thirty Years War what was known as the period of Orthodoxy. The activity and emphasis of the Church during this time is summarized by Henry Daquin:

> 1. Church orders were re-issued and legalistic and disciplinary measures were taken to enforce them.
>
> 2. Attendance at services was compulsory and fines were imposed for lack of attendance.
>
> 3. The people were compelled to go to confession and receive the Sacrament.

4. The "Herr" Pastor had to be obeyed.

5. Congregational participation in the service was limited because people were not familiar with the music of the liturgy. The choir and cantor took over the major portion of the service.

6. The doctrine of faith was almost forgotten and when emphasized it was of an intellectual type.

7. Theology had become scholastic and the sermon was pedagogical.

8. Emphasis was on the externals of worship, and many people came just before the sermon and left immediately following it.[1]

Pietism appeared as a reaction to these conditions within the Lutheran Church of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It must be kept in mind that it was the desire of the leaders to purge the Church from within and not to form a separatist group. Some Orthodox leaders laid stress on some of the same things as did the Pietists. Theophilus Groszhauer, one of the Orthodox group, complained about the prevalent conditions in the Church and can thus be considered one of the forerunners of the pietistic movement.

Pietism was actually founded by Philip Spener (1635-1705) as a protest against the deterioration of Orthodoxy to meaningless codes. He was a graduate of the University of Strassburg where he pursued studies in history, philosophy, and philology. He was interested in the writings of Luther and was accused of Calvinistic leanings by those who opposed him. The basic intent of the pietistic movement was to awaken the cold orthodox Church, reform the clergy, and regenerate the Church in every aspect of its life and ministry. Though the movement was begun by Spener, the subsequent organization was to be the work of August Francke of the faculty of the University of Halle.

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[1] Henry Daquin, Pietism and the Traditional Worship Practices of the Lutheran Church (unpublished Master's thesis, Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, 1955), pp. 6-10.

The followers of Spener were organized into the Collegia pietatis, or small gatherings of like-minded people who met periodically to study the Bible, Luther's writings, and other devotional materials, for their own personal edification and spiritual enrichment. Emphasis was placed on the inner life of personal holiness, discipline and morals, and the strict observance of the Lord's Day. In these early days there was no intention of disrupting the established church orders but merely of bringing new life into its fellowship and ministry. However, because of the strong emphasis on these "home" gatherings and personal devotion, interest in corporate worship in the sanctuary waned and the emphasis was increasingly toward separatism. Eventually the police complained against the Collegia pietatis, and even though some of the meetings were transferred to the church itself, troubles ensued. Consequently, many began the actual break from the Church and absented themselves from the services and the sacraments.

In addition to the implied separatism, the Pietists stressed a regenerate church membership and clergy and the distinction between the true saints and the unconverted. To a greater or lesser degree, a spiritual pride and a self-righteous attitude developed among them. Emphasis was placed on lay-leadership, and many of the Pietists did not see the necessity for the clergy at all. It was felt that all believers were "priests unto God" and could administer the Sacraments under divine unction as well as the clergy.

The practical side of Christianity was another aspect and emphasis of Pietism. Brotherly love was stressed and practiced with the result that a period of great benevolence was seen in the establishment of missions, orphanages, etc. The Pietists were concerned with the spiritual and temporal well-being of their "flock," a concern expressed in such vital and practical ways.

In addition to the meetings of the Collegia pietatis, members were encouraged to practice daily private devotions in the form of Bible reading and prayer. Spener's Pia Desideria (1675) is a book which depicts the Christianity of this period and stresses the need for personal Bible study for the training and growth in piety, not only of the laity but also the clergy. Although this book met with mixed reactions in the eighteenth century, it is still being published and read today.

As with any reform movement, Pietism was to experience its share of opposition and criticism. Although many of the Pietists broke with the Church, Philip Spener did not leave the Lutheran communion. He accepted a call to Dresden as chaplain to Elector John George II of Saxony, but while there he opposed the low morals of the court and criticized the conditions at the Universities of Leipzig and Wittenberg. This opposition brought considerable disfavor on Spener. Under the protectorship of Elector Frederick III he established the theological school of the University of Halle where an influential center for Pietism flourished. August Francke, a pupil of Spener and the founder of the Collegia biblica at the University of Leipzig, caused a great deal of unrest and stirred up opposition to himself by his lectures. As a result, conventicles were forbidden and he was obliged to leave his post at Leipzig. A similar situation obtained in Erfuhrt, and he was obliged to leave there in 1691.

As was mentioned previously, Francke later joined the theological faculty at the University of Halle in 1691. Strife developed between him and the clergy of the city, and "literary battles" between Pietism and its opponents were waged outside of Halle.[2] At Halle, however, they developed and spread and historians claim that the whole Lutheran Church in Germany was affected by them. Francke, who was more aggressive than Spener, encouraged the devotional life of the students and many of his lectures were nothing more than "revival sermons."[3] Although Halle was a stronghold of Pietism, the movement did begin to decline in the ensuing years and by the latter part of the eighteenth century it was lost there.

Spener's influence was felt in cities like Württemberg where Pietism acquired many adherents with much less opposition than in other places. Although this city was never widely influential in the cause, it did produce notable leaders such as Christian Gottlob Pregizer (1751-1824) and the Hofacker brothers, Ludwig (1798-1828) and Wilhelm (1805-1848). Its influence was also noteworthy in Switzerland where a training school for missionaries was established.

As for Philip Spener, in the wake of a divided church in Germany, the ecstatic phenomena of the Pietists, and the polemics against Pietism, he abandoned the struggle as early as 1698.[4] His desire was to remain an orthodox Lutheran and make his witness count "within the fold." Separatism continued to grow, and early in the eighteenth century the clergy's attitude toward established Pietism was much more moderate than was previously the case. By the middle of the century, meetings (which did not hinder the peace) were allowed to be held.

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[2] Samuel Macaully Johnson (ed.), The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge (Grand Rapids, Baker Book House, 1953), IX, p. 57.

[3] Ibid., p. 58.

[4] Ibid., p. 56.

While Pietism endeavored to keep its reform activities within the State Church, by its practice of small assembly meetings it became fruitful soil for separatist groups. The first to become really independent from the Lutheran Church were the Moravians around the year 1691. The Moravian Church traces its beginning to the ministry of John Hus in pre-Reformation time. After his martyrdom his followers organized and became known as the Bohemian Brethren. The Thirty Years War almost extinguished them, but a small remnant found refuge on the estate of Nicholas Ludwig, Count of Zinzendorf (1700-1760) in 1732. Zinzendorf himself had been reared in strict Pietism. His god-father was Philip Spener and his tutor, August Francke, so he was steeped in the traditions of this reform movement. Latourette has summarized the activities and outcome of this association as follows:

> He also had an intense desire to spread the Christian faith throughout the world. In the handful of persecuted refugees he saw the means of fulfilling that vision. They founded the village of Herrnhut on his property, he identified himself with them and became a bishop of their church, and through him missionaries from among them went to various parts of the world. Zinzendorf wished them to become members of the state church of Saxony, but in 1745, while being a section of that church, they were formally organized with their own bishops, in the succession of those of the Unitas Fratrum, and with their distinct services, liturgy, and hymnology.[5]

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[5] Kenneth Scott Latourette, A History of Christianity, (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1953), p. 897.

The Spread of Pietism

Sweden

Religious life in Sweden at the beginning of the eighteenth century was in precisely the same condition as that of Germany when Philip Spener began his reform. When foreign nationals came to Sweden to practice their faith, they found a church controlled by the Crown; and although they were allowed to carry on their religious activities, they were forbidden to propagate their faith. The church in Sweden is open to criticism during this period. Karl Olsson's translation from two eminent church historians aptly describes the conditions of the time:

> The church was hyperorthodox and intolerant, objective and formal; it left little room for personal piety or spontaneous worship; it was mediated by a hierarchy not so pretentious or complex as that of the Roman Church but just as unbending in its authority and in its suspicion of lay interference. It was structured by a static theology which was unaffected by the new discoveries in science and hence open to the irrationality of superstition, magic, and demonology.[6]

Furthermore, the contact between pulpit and pew was very impersonal, and the clergy exhibited little concern for the spiritual welfare of the people. Preaching was abstruse, and cruel disciplinary actions were meted out to those who came under the scrutiny of the church.

With the negative aspects of church life and practices duly stressed, in all fairness it should be mentioned that the established church did much to encourage literacy by establishing schools for the laity. It exerted influence in the civil life of the community in the "suppression of sexual immorality, drunkenness, irreligion and blasphemy. . . ."[7]

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[6] Hjalmar Holmquist, and Hilding Pleijel (ed.), Svenska Kyrkans Historia, (Uppsala; 1935) V, pp. 135-137, as quoted by Karl A. Olsson, By One Spirit, (Chicago: Covenant Press, 1962), pp. 20-21.

Interest in the mystical side of Christian devotion was evident even before Pietism became firmly established in Sweden. The Church as the Bride of Christ as well as the mystery of His passion occupied the minds of Christians in the seventeenth century. A devotional book, A Spiritual Wellspring, was published in 1641. In 1642 in close succession appeared a translation of Johan George's Prayer Book and Lewis Bayly's The Practice of Piety. "Thus, while the official orthodoxy of the church grew more unyielding, a new tradition of piety formed in the deeps, preparing the way for the evangelical endeavors of the following century."[8]

Pietism actually came to Sweden in the decade between 1670-1680. As early as 1694 the Crown had taken notice of the conventicles which were being held, much to the consternation of the ecclesiastical powers. Measures were taken to suppress the conventicles, but they were continued. It is generally believed that these were originally inspired by German Pietists, but other than that their original source is not known. The more conservative element in Pietism was tolerant and understanding of the attitude of the established church, but the radicals took an unmitigated stand against the church because of its intolerant attitude toward the Pietists and the persecution it inflicted on them.

The central figure among the radical Pietists was Sven Rosen from Västergötland, a student at Uppsala and the son of a prominent clergyman. His early contact with Pietism was in the person of Andreas Hellerstrom, dean of the cathedral of Göteborg. Although his ardor for Pietism cooled while he was a student at Uppsala, his interest revived when he became tutor for a family of nobility near Stockholm in 1728. Another one who influenced Rosen in the cause of Pietism was the young German physician Johan Conrad Dipple, who came to the capital city early in 1727. Originally a Halle Pietist, he was dismissed and disowned because of his radical views. After a series of arrests and imprisonments, and finally a pardon, he made his way to Sweden. Eventually, upon invitation to Stockholm, Dipple became a popular but controversial figure in that city because of his denouncement of the church. Although Dipple himself was banished from Sweden, his influence continued to be felt in the person of such men as Sven Rosen. Rosen became the leading man among the radical movement.

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[7] Ibid., p. 22.

[8] Ibid., p. 23.

Peculiar to the radicals was the emphasis on the inner spiritual experience and the expectation of the imminent return of Christ. They continually absented themselves from the church and the Lord's supper and lived in a rather penitent mood as they looked with disdain on the luxuries of the world. They dressed in gray, drab clothing called "vadmal" and as a consequence became known as "gray jackets." The group separated themselves from the world in the year 1734 by moving into one dwelling which became famous as "Mumma's House." This conventicle and the year 1734 are notable because they marked the establishment of the first free group of the radical separatists. Though only fifteen or sixteen in number, they were to exert strong influence on Rosen. During his association with them he wrote many of his strong theological works.

After a comparatively short term, the radicals were scattered through a series of arrests and imprisonments in which their very lives were threatened. Sven Rosen himself was brought to trial and finally banished from the country in 1741. Two years later he joined with the Moravians in London. This association may account for the moderation in Rosen's attitude toward the established church. After recanting from his radical position he was reinstated in 1746. Although he requested to be allowed to return to Sweden, this request was not granted, and in 1747 he emigrated to North America with a group of Moravians. In 1748 he was ordained a deacon in the Moravian Church in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania. Two years later he died.

Thus, the activities of the radical Pietists as the first of a free-church type in Sweden became merely an episode. However, their concept of voluntary assemblies of Christians and other tenets and beliefs had a lasting effect on the entire church life of Sweden.

The first missionaries from Herrnhut, Melchior Zeisbergen and Tobias Frederick, came to Sweden in 1731 where they too had contact with the "Dipplians." Zinzendorf himself came to Sweden in May of 1735 after a rather unhappy experience in Denmark. While the visit of Zinzendorf did not seem to kindle any new "reformation fires," his writings did exert a powerful influence and were read far and wide throughout the length and breadth of the land. Although the leader of a separatist group, Zinzendorf remained loyal to the Lutheran Church and urged the Moravians in Sweden to work through the local churches and pastors in their missionary endeavors. During the decade of the 1750's Herrnhutism gained much ground and during succeeding years was instrumental in a great awakening in the Church of Sweden.

Thus two influential groups were at work in Sweden at this time, the pietists and the Moravians. Both were to be of great influence through their writings and preaching. The spiritual outlook of both has been preserved in the hymnody each produced and which will be discussed at length in the next chapter.

Although Pietism flourished in the eighteenth century, as was mentioned previously, it did not go unchallenged by the Church or the Crown. In 1726 the Edict against Conventicles was enacted in an effort to thwart the spread of what were considered anti-church views. A new Conventicle Edict was later enacted and remained in force as late as 1858 as an attempt to clarify the status of conventicle meetings. The idea behind the edict was to preserve the unity of the State Church, to keep all devoted to church and King, and to insure a "solid social structure in which political and religious cohesions were intermingled."[9]

The religious awakening in Sweden in the eighteenth century began to show evidences of decline as the century drew to a close. However, the revival broke out again in the nineteenth century, and this era was one of great prosperity in the religious life of Sweden. The church again had been faced with spiritual decline, an undue emphasis on materialism, disregard for Sunday, and a disintegration and almost dissolution of family life. Evidences of renewal began to appear early in the period. Evangeliska Sällskapet was formed in 1808 for the production of Christian literature. In 1811 Jacob A. Lindblom, Archbishop of Uppsala and primate of the Church of Sweden, published his new catechism. The Swedish Bible Society was organized in 1815 after the pattern of a "similar organization in Great Britain." By the combined efforts of the above-mentioned publishing concerns, religious life was stimulated following the period of apparent decline.

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[9] Ibid., p. 28.

The awakening of the nineteenth century in its "full tide" was felt in the southernmost and northernmost sections of Sweden. In the South the rather serious minded clergyman, Henric Schartau (1757-1825), was an active leader. He began his ministry during a period of rationalism in preaching. In his early years he leaned toward the Moravian position, stressing the wounds and blood of Christ, but later reacted against this and turned more to sanctification. He was very critical of the sentimentality in Pietism and laid stress on the sacraments of the church. Schartau created a large following of those who came to hear him preach although he was not a separatist in any sense of the word. His convictions and influence were carried on by those who followed him.

In the north of Sweden circles of läsare (readers) gave their attention to the writings of Martin Luther and Arndt's True Christianity. Like the movement under Schartau this group, though church-related, was of a legalistic pietistic character. After the "läsare" had held forth for considerable time a group known as the Nya Läsare (new readers) sprang up in the north port town of Piteå. Largely farmers, they were influenced by the Herrnhut emphasis on grace and redemption through Christ. In time they denounced the old "läsare" for their Pharisaical self-righteousness and an undue emphasis on keeping the law. Under the leadership of a former soldier, Erik Stalberg, they formed separate conventicles, and the separation became final in the middle of the century when they took upon themselves to administer the sacraments.[10]

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[10] Kenneth Scott Latourette, The Nineteenth Century in Europe, (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1959), II, p. 172.

Sweden was again to feel another impact from England in the ministry of George Scott (1808-1874), a Scottish Methodist, who carried on a very successful ministry in Stockholm from 1830-1842. He preached in a chapel erected by the Methodists of Great Britain in 1826. Gunnar Westin relates concerning the ministry and significance of this Methodist Mission:

> Around the Methodist Mission was created a highly important center for the free evangelical activity with its energetic conversion-preaching, conventicles, the use of laymen, the distribution of Bibles, books and tracts, temperance propaganda, foreign mission, city mission, Sunday schools, and publication of periodicals. Through his position as unofficial legation Pastor Scott won for himself a place of great possibilities. It was now that the influence of piety of the Anglo-American type began to make itself felt with force hitherto unknown. George Scott's work in the Stockholm Methodist Mission (1830-1842) became of prime importance for the Swedish revival and became the factual starting-point for the subsequent free-church movement.[11]

Although Scott as a foreigner had no rights whatsoever to preach he drew a large following of people who flocked to hear him. He declared himself to be against separatism and by this stand emulated the practice of Wesleyan Methodism. Westin dogmatically asserts that Scott must have seen impending separation because of the lines he was following and the ultimate formation of free-churches in Sweden:

> Just as assuredly as the Wesleyans of that day in their practice were free-church people, so was Scott while in Sweden a free-church preacher, even though he was not inclined to admit this. Scott, as a non-Swedish citizen preacher for hundreds of listeners in the English Church in Stockholm, was no more than an intruding conventicle preacher without any right whatsoever to shepherd souls among the Lutherans of that land.[12]

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[11] Gunnar Westin et. al., De frikyrkliga samfunden i Sverige, (Stockholm: Svenska Missionsförbundets Forlga, 1934), p. 29.

[12] Ibid., p. 30.

Although he was forced to leave the country his influence was widely significant. His work and its far-reaching implications is lucidly set forth by Westin:

> There were other distinguishing traits in Scott's work which served as preparation for the free-church movement. His Methodistic revival preaching, which towards the close of his sojourn in Stockholm was not as forceful as at first, was of the kind that attracted both those who formerly had found their way to the hall of the brethren church, as well as those who were under the legalistic-Pietistic influence. The large throngs that crowded around Scott's pulpit, since the autumn of 1831 when he began to preach in Swedish, were drawn there by the powerful message of sin and grace, full atonement in Jesus and free access to salvation and righteousness. Thither came many who were in anguish regarding their spiritual state, and Scott began to hold special classes for those who were worried and seekers. Many conversions took place. A revival broke forth in Stockholm, which fact made glad the heart of Scott and came in for growing public attention. Scott felt convinced that more than 2,000 could have been gathered at the revival meetings. But at the time only 500 at the most could be accommodated in the primitive little Methodist chapel in King's Garden. Already during the spiritual movement in 1832 Scott gained repute as an evangelical revival preacher. He also held conventicles in homes as well as Methodist classes for those interested. Not only Stockholm-ites rushed to hear the Methodist revivalist, but visitors from the rural sections also came. It was not long before Scott was widely known out around in the "läsare" groups as the new light in the capitol city. During the 1830's the interest increased to the extent that when in the autumn of 1840 he could dedicate his large church edifice it was already incapacious of accommodating the crowds that came. Thus the revival movement that had sprung up as a result of Scott's preaching had led to the building of the first free church edifice in Sweden for the promotion of revival and mission among Swedes, but wholly outside the frame of the State Church system. This was a venture in bold style, independent of Sweden's Church and civil authorities, brought about by voluntary contributions by foreign and inland sources. Here was indicated a new way. Scott's church was the first in a line of free-church chapels and mission-houses in the land, and many came about the same way later through financial help from England and America. . . . In the conflict which continued the greater part of 1838 the opposition purposed to stop Scott in his wide-flung revival activities but these efforts worked entirely the other way. . . . Scott's victory was

> also a victory in many respects for the life-attitudes permeating the rural revivals. At this juncture Scott also had the support of several of Stockholm's leading newspapers, which stood guard over a religious liberty, which had not yet been enacted into law.[13]

By-products of Scott's ministry include the formation of an agency for Bible and literature distribution, the formation of a Temperance Society, and a foreign missionary advance all connected with his work in Sweden.

The successor to Scott in the interest of the free-church movement was Karl Olof Rosenius (1816-1868), the son of a pastor in upper Norrland and a friend of the Readers. (Lövgren considers him to have been a member of the Nya läsare group.) For a time he was a student at the University of Uppsala, but adverse circumstances including ill health prompted his withdrawal. In time he came in contact with George Scott and became almost an assistant to him in the pulpit of the Methodist chapel, and editor of the journal Pietisten which had a circulation of several thousand. When Scott was forced to vacate his pulpit in 1842, Rosenius continued in the preaching ministry and assumed the editorship of Pietisten. In due time friends of Rosenius purchased Scott's Chapel, and Rosenius continued to preach there until his death. He became more popular than either Schartau or Scott, and many of his disciples associated together in Evangeliska Fosterlandsstiftelsen (National Evangelical Association) founded in 1856. This group was influenced by the Inner Mission Movement in Germany in its colporteur work and its establishment of a deaconess institution.[14]

Rosenius did not leave the Established Church and strongly advised his followers against a separatist position. Even though he had great grievances against the Lutheran clergy, he took Communion and had his children baptized as Lutherans. He was popular as a journalist and devotional writer not only in Sweden but in Norway and Denmark.

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[13] Ibid., pp. 31, 32.

[14] Latourette, The Nineteenth Century . . . II, p. 173.

Scott had another disciple in Anders Wiberg, who was a priest of the State Church. Because of his separatist views, Wiberg and Rosenius parted company and the former was to take his place later with the Baptist movement which was coming to the fore at this time. According to Westin, the radical position of the Baptists on many issues caused Rosenius to take a more conservative position.

Although outwardly Rosenius was not a separatist or a Pietist, at heart he espoused the cause of Pietism and encouraged its followers by his preaching and the ministry of his pen. Small groups and societies sprang up over Scandinavia which carried out the traditions of Scott and Rosenius and encouraged the tendency toward the free-church movement on a grand scale. More will be said concerning the work and influence of Rosenius in the next chapter.

Denmark

On the eve of the nineteenth century in Denmark the State Church was suffering from the inroads of rationalism, a condition which prevailed in many of the European countries. The writings of Kant had come from Germany, stimulating thinking among the intellectuals in the church. The clergy became enamoured with neology and the enlightenment. On the other hand Pietism and Moravianism had exerted wide influence in the country. Latourette describes the situation:

> From Germany had entered Moravianism and Pietism and both had begun to have effect not only in limited circles but also widely through outstanding churchmen, hymnody, and the renewal of confirmation with the accompanying instruction. Pietism had brought a deep

> sense of sin, sometimes so great as to produce an attitude of helplessness and despair. Moravianism had given an assurance of God's love and of salvation.[15]

Thus a sharp anthithesis existed in the religious life of Denmark at the dawn of the century in the presence of both liberal and conservative elements in Protestantism. Church attendance suffered decline as State Church pastors preached an ethical Gospel, and even though pietism and Moravianism were still enlisting followers their active ministry was not as dynamic as in former days.

The situation might have been cause for alarm, but the Danish Church was far from dead. The hymnody of such men as Thomas Kingo and the pietist Adolf Brorson, and the leadership of many outstanding clergymen kept the church alive during these critical days. Pietism and Moravianism, even though represented by comparatively small groups, continued to hold forth effectively.

The years following 1815 were to be the most creative for Danish Protestantism. Preceding the general awakening many activities pastored the revitalization of the entire church life of Denmark. In the year 1801 the Danish Evangelical Society was formed which promoted the printing of the New Testament. The year 1814 saw the organization of the Danish Bible Society by Ebenezer Henderson, a missionary appointee to India. Rationalism was challenged by the preaching of such men as Henrik Steffens. Much of the inspiration for these developments as well as financial support came from Anglo-American sources.

The success of this returning "tide of faith" in Denmark naturally was due to some of the strong leaders in the church. One of the very early leaders was Nicolaj E. Balle (1744-1816), for several years the

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[15] *Ibid.*, p. 133.

Bishop of New Zealand. In his lectures he strongly opposed rationalism and urged a return to biblical preaching. He published a textbook on the catechism as well as a hymnal, both of which aroused criticism. Another leading figure in these early years was Jakob Peter Mynster (1775-1854), also a strong opponent of rationalism. In his early ministry he strongly adhered to the writings of Kant and was vehemently opposed to revivalist preachers and conventicles. His emphasis changed when he was thirty years of age because of a deep religious experience. An eloquent preacher, he became a strong influence in the Church of Denmark; however, he was charitable in his attitude toward the rationalists. His sermons and devotional books influenced the entire nation although sin and repentance found little place in either. He remained loyal to the State Church because of its emphasis and "individual freedom for prayer and meditation."

A name which has become immortal in Danish Church history is that of Nikolaj F. S. Grundtvig (1783-1872). His father came from a long line of Lutheran pastors and in his ministry was not influenced by rationalism. Following the line of least resistance Grundtvig prepared for the ministry at the University of Copenhagen. He went through a period of intellectual and spiritual struggle during his university years and broke away from the orthodoxy in which he had been reared. As the time drew near for him to become curate to his father, he went through a period of spiritual crisis from which he emerged victoriously to be a leader of great repute in the Danish Church.

One of Grundtvig's early contributions to the spiritual awakening in Denmark was his History of the World in which he attacked rationalism and declared Christ to be the focal point of history and the unifier of the human race. He aspired that Denmark should have a re-birth and that Christians should be Christians in every aspect of daily life.

Because of their part in the awakening in Denmark, many Pietists and Moravians were arrested in accordance with the Conventicle Act of 1741. Among the ministers of the State Church some showed a kindly attitude toward them while Grundtvig tended to be critical of their separatistic views. Nevertheless, even though he was not a Pietist, he was a constant source of inspiration to the Pietist and Moravian pastors and his ideas and attitude found expression in their sermons. More will be said concerning his relationship to the free-church movement later in this chapter.

One of Grundtvig's greatest contributions to Danish Church life was in his hymns. He edited a hymnal, largely of his own hymns, and the note of joy in most of them caused them to be received by the Danish people with great enthusiasm and profit. Chapter Three will deal in detail with his hymnody.

As a statesman and patriot Grundtvig sought to educate the Danish people in their heritage as "God's chosen people." He was an educator and introduced new ideas into the educational system in his country. In politics his followers followed both the conservative "right" and the democratic "left" positions. Some of his later followers divided into the moderates and liberals, the former organizing the Church Society of 1898 and the latter establishing agricultural and high schools. Thus his influence both in the civic and religious life of Denmark is evident; and as Latourette has pointed out, "'Grundtvigism' became a potent and characteristic strain in Danish life."[16]

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[16] Latourette, A History . . ., p. 1140.

The name Kierkegaard has long been associated with the church and theology of Denmark. Soren A. Kierkegaard (1813-1855), in spite of his brief life-span, became famous for his contributions not only in his native country but also far beyond its borders. He was reared and prepared for confirmation in Copenhagen. Following many vicissitudes of his early life he had a transforming emotional experience when he was assured of God's love for him.

The death of his father and his subsequent inheritance created financial independence for him. He was able to complete his theological studies and in time became a controversial figure in the theological world through his voluminous writings and lectures. In his polemics he denounced the State Church and refused its communion because he felt that it had "watered down" the Gospel and had made its main message merely a "code of ethics." He desired to make the Church reflect on its position in the world. His estimate of the Christian Church in Denmark is summarized by Latourette:

> While Denmark was a Christian nation, not one Dane, so he insisted, had the character of a New Testament Christian. Christ had said that narrow is the gate which leads to life and broad is the gate which leads to destruction, yet the state church acted as though the reverse were true and that all in the country had entered the way to life. The state church, so Kierkegaard declared, had prostituted the sacraments. Men who had no real Christian faith brought their children for baptism and others with as little faith stood as godfathers to the children. Confirmation, in which the adolescent took on himself the vows made for him in baptism, was an even more ghastly travesty. Men who on week days lied in their business took Communion on Sundays and returned, unconcerned to their old practices on Mondays. Although blessed by the Church, marriage was far from meeting New Testament demands. Thus ran the indictment.[17]

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[17] Latourette, The Nineteenth Century . . . II, p. 143.

While not considered a separatist as such, unofficially he did leave the communion of the State Church and criticized men like Grundtvig for not leaving also. By his standards of Christian living, and because of his attitude toward the State Church, he added greatly to the advance of pietism.

The influence of both Grundtvig and Kierkegaard was expressed most fully in the Inner Mission. The movement endeavoured to lead people into a full Christian life on an individual basis and to assemble them into small groups within the church for the purpose of study and mutual spiritual edification. Latourette describes the ideals of the Inner Mission as "closely akin to those of the Continental Pietists and of British and American Evangelicals."[18] It developed extensively but remained within the confines of the State Church.

The Association of the Inner Mission was organized in 1853 for the spiritual renewal of the church in Denmark. Lay leadership was stressed, and many preachers were sent out into the realm as heralds of the cause. Because of internal trouble the organization was dissolved, and in 1861 the Church Association for the Inner Mission in Denmark was formed. As its name indicates it was to work within the State Church. The outstanding leader of the new organization was Wilhelm Beck (1829-1901), who had been influenced both by Kierkegaard and Grundtvig in his early years. He was ably assisted by Johannes Clausen in "revival" campaigns in Denmark and in the sending of missionaries, colporteurs, and other workers to various parts of the country. While still operating within the church, by 1900 they had erected nearly four hundred meeting places for their converts.

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[18] Ibid., p. 144.

The Inner Mission conducted a vigorous program which resulted in the usual opposition from the leaders of the church. It grew, however, and spread out over all of Denmark. It expressed deep concern for the social condition of the day, established Sunday schools and various types of projects for youth, and inaugurated many day schools which specialized in instruction in agriculture, handicrafts, and related subjects.

The Luther Mission in Denmark began as a result of the preaching of P. C. Trondberg, a pastor who had been influenced by Kierkegaard concerning the State Church. One of the lay preachers of the movement was Christian Moeller, who founded the mission and by the suggestion of Rosenius remained and worked within the church. In later years the Luther Mission became pietistic in emphasis and missionaries were sent out in affiliation with the Moravians. Their differences with the Inner Mission began to fade, and soon there was even an exchange of leadership and workers between the two groups.

The Inner Mission in Copenhagen took the initiative in the organization of the first Y.M.C.A. in Denmark in 1878, and by 1884 no less than fifty were organized. The Inner Mission "spirit" was responsible for other related organizations such as the Academic Missionary Union, the World Student Christian Federation, and various others for work among prisoners, seamen, and orphans.

Nineteenth century Protestantism in Denmark is summarized by Latourette in this way:

> Fresh organizations arose, partly for the deepening of the faith in the nominally Christian multitudes, partly in education, partly in various forms of service for the underprivileged, and partly to spread the faith in other lands. The overwhelming majority of the population were baptized and confirmed in the Church of

> Denmark. In it various parties contended, the chief of which were the Grundtvigians, the Inner Mission, and the middle, sometimes called the high-church, element. The Church of Denmark was officially Lutheran. It was a folk or national church, with an increasing degree of participation by the laity on the parish level. Dissenting bodies were very small minorities.[19]

Norway

The condition of the religious life of Norway in the nineteenth century was one of contrast. On the one hand were the agnostics who were hostile to the Christian cause and vocal in their opposition to it. Writers were scornful and satirical toward the church, and secularism was on the increase. On the other hand, the church was carrying on a vigorous ministry in spite of its critics and was being nurtured and encouraged by both Denmark and Sweden, especially Denmark.[20]

The revival movements in the nineteenth century were prepared by Pietism and Herrnhutism. Bishop Pontoppidan of Bergen strengthened the cause of Pietism by his textbook which was a preparatory study for confirmation. Confirmation theoretically was compulsory from 1736 to 1911 through the influence of Pietism. The Inner Mission movement of Denmark inspired a similar one in Norway, and at the same time Lutheran Orthodoxy was undergoing a revival. In 1842 the Conventicle Act of 1741 was repealed, thus paving the way for more activity and growth of the dissenting groups. Again we see the strong course of Pietism and Moravianism in Scandinavia.

Just at the turn of the century there appeared on the scene one of the foremost leaders of Norwegian religious life, Hans Nielsen Hauge

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[19] Ibid., p. 151.

[20] Ibid., p. 155.

(d. 1824). He felt led after a deep religious experience to preach the Gospel without any interference or restrictions from a governing body. Westin considers him to be the greatest leader in the religious life of Norway in his day and has expressed it in this way:

> He, more than any other, left his imprint on the indigenous Lutheran folk movement during the first part of the 1800's. Until 1804 he travelled about a great deal, and he also authored several publications of religious content. . . . A certain characteristic of old time Pietism was inscribed on the whole movement. In this respect he went against the Herrnhutian persuasion or viewpoints.[21]

The movement which grew up around Hauge was known in the Norwegian language as "venneflokker" or "friend-flocks." Hundreds of such groups were formed which could not be suppressed even by the Conventicle Act. These became lay-movements and as a result of their wide-spread influence many of the lay preachers were persecuted and imprisoned. Hauge himself was apprehended and spent long periods in jail awaiting the outcome of the long deliberations against him by the civil and religious authorities. These proceedings continued over a ten-year period, and when he was finally freed he was a broken man. These draconian measures against their leader became a cause of concern on the part of many of Hauge's disciplies, and they became reticent to preach as freely and openly as before.

After Hauge's reinstatement in 1814 the movement experienced a renewal but with a stronger and more Lutheran character. Hauge advocated that the meetings be held within the church and that the sacraments be administered there also. In this respect he reflected the views of Rosenius in Sweden. The movement was at its peak in the year of Hauge's death (1824) and for the next twenty years it continued to grow and extend itself. Some of the early radicalism was modified and it became increasingly difficult to distinguish the Haugeans from the other clergy.

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[21] Gunnar Westin, Den kristna friförsamlingen i Norden, (Stockholm: Westerbergs, 1956), pp. 253, 254.

The legalistic aspect of the later Haugean movement gave way in the 1840's to a more moderate evangelical trend under the leadership of the lay preacher, Anders Håve (d. 1867). The influence of Rosenius and the neo-evangelism of Sweden was seen once again in this development. Håve otherwise held quite strongly to many of the principles of Hauge and maintained his loyalty to the State Church. The clergy cooperated closely, and as this lay-movement spread the conservative element gained a strong foothold in Norway.

The Haugean awakening was supplemented in many ways with related organizations coming into being. The Norwegian Bible Society was formed in 1816, followed by the Tract Society in 1820. A mission circle was begun in 1826 under the leadership of Carl Bülov of London; and abiding by the principle of Hauge, it was contained within the church. Although Bülov was forced to leave Norway, the mission societies spread and developed into a very efficient layman's movement. Det Norske Misjonsselskap was organized in 1842 and was followed by many others of its kind in the ensuing years. The direction of this development is described by Westin:

> This society movement could even under these circumstances have eventuated into a folk movement self-regulated and more independent of Church leadership. Such separation did not come to pass, however, even though certain societies were strongly colored by the layman attitude. Instead through Haugeanism there devolved in the middle of the century a more solid cooperation with the churchly movement, which was a home mission movement of great moment. There was

> Theology Professor Gisle Johnson, the great man with a teaching career of forty years, who more than any other was instrumental in causing the Church to capture the revival.[22]

Gisle Johnson (1822-1894) was strongly influenced by the early emphases of Kierkegaard but had little time for Grundtvig. He was a preacher of unusual ability and his preaching made a lasting impact on the Norway of his day. He was instrumental in the inauguration of the Inner Mission and had considerable to do with the founding of the Luther Foundation and the periodical Luthersk Kirketidende. The awakening under the professor of theology influenced clergy and laity alike and reached even to the United States and Great Britain in the form of pietistic and evangelical movements.

Both the Haugeans and Johnsonians appealed to all classes of people alike. Large number of "prayer houses" were built for holding informal meetings, the first one being erected in Skien in 1850.

Moravian Pietism exerted a strong influence on a Danish clergyman, Gustav A. Lammers (1802-1878), who settled in Skien after his theological training in Norway. His preaching attracted large crowds of people, and as a result a rather comprehensive revival broke out in 1849 with accompanying separatist tendencies. In addition to questioning his own position as a clergyman, he believed that pedo-baptism was the root of all the evils in the church. As a consequence of these struggles within his own thinking he withdrew from the State Church and founded the Free Apostolic Christian Church in Skien. The church expanded, and Lammers in his travels made many contacts in Scandinavia. It seemed that he was destined to become one of the great leaders in the free-church movement but this was not realized. Disturbed by the radical views held by some of his followers concerning baptism, and in a state of turmoil and indecision himself concerning his own stand, he returned to the State Church in 1860. Many of his followers became Baptists and others formed a dissenting church of another order. In spite of these existing conflicts, the free-church movement gained and went forward on a very solid basis.

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[22] Ibid., p. 255.

Finland

Although the country of Finland is not to receive a major emphasis in this study, some significant aspects to the religious life there are worthy of comment. Westin has observed that

> in no other country in the Northland did the different shades of Pietism come to mean so much to the Lutheran national church as in Finland. The older church life here was closely tied to the vicissitudes in Sweden. Pietists and Herrnhutians suffered persecution. . . . The Finnish people were very susceptible to a radical form of spiritual manifestations where ecstacies were in evidence. The revivalists however remained within the framework of the Finnish State Church.[23]

Another leader who made a significant contribution to the religious life of Finland of that day was Fredrik G. Hedberg, who struck out on a new path in his preaching. Unlike the legalistic Pietism, his message was more of the "free grace" type with the "come as you are" invitation. Hedberg became editor of a publication known as Evangelisten, which because of censorship and other complications was printed in Sweden.

The forward thrust of Pietism is also seen in the literature distribution work in Finland under the direction of John Peterson.

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[23] Ibid., pp. 332-333.

The Lutheran Evangel Association, similar in intent and purpose to Evangeliska Fosterlandstiftelsen in Sweden did much to foster the cause of Pietism in the country. Laws which militated against the non-state religious beliefs were annulled near the end of the 1860's, and thus greater religious freedom was afforded the dissenting groups, though not without some limitations.

Although Finland conserved a great deal of its Lutheran heritage and tradition, it did experience a great awakening in the nineteenth century. During the latter part of the century the church "was not only solidly Lutheran but also, to a greater extent than the state churches of Denmark, Iceland, Sweden, and even Norway, Pietist."[24]

The Free Churches of Scandinavia

To appreciate the growth of the free-church movements in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries one must look at them against the background of the severe compulsion laws of both centuries. As we have seen, the progress of the separatists, typified mainly by the Pietists and Moravians, was a constant source of irritation and concern to the Lutheran Church. The following partial list of laws, culled from several sources, indicates one type of obstacle against which the dissenters worked in the quest for religious freedom. Most of these were Swedish laws but similar ones were in force in the other Scandinavian countries to a greater or lesser degree:

Conventicle Notice of 1726 (konventikelplakat)

This law forbade the small group meetings for Bible study and prayer. It was annulled in 1858.

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[24] Latourette, The Nineteenth Century . . ., II, p. 191.

The Draconian Religion Law of 1735

According to this rule one could be accused of "secretly harboring some deviating idea" and not necessarily having attended a conventicle.

The "Pass" Law of 1812

This law was directed against the activity of the colporteur and required a pass for any one to travel outside of his home precinct. It was annulled in 1860.

The Law of March, 1855

The implications of this law were that anyone officiating at a communion service without special permission and who was not a priest of the State Church was given a heavy fine. A smaller fine was imposed upon those who partook of the communion under such circumstances. This was only one of several laws enacted in the 1850's which were burdens to those of the free-church persuasion. It was annulled in 1864.

The Royal Order of 1858

Although the State Church had enacted strict laws "to hold itself together" even these were powerless to stem the tide of free-church growth and spread. This Royal Order represents one of the early attempts to ease the laws against conventicles.

The Law of 1860

By this law permission was granted to separatist groups by the Riksdag to petition the king for the privilege of forming new organizations.

The Dissenter Law of 1873

In this law some of the heaviest restrictions of the early laws were annulled, though not all. Pastors were given the right to perform marriages by the provision of this law.

This is just a partial documentation of laws enacted concerning dissenting bodies and their relationship to the State Church. Even when the tide was turning in the direction of moderation toward the separatists and laws were enacted in their favor, in some locales the feeling was still strongly unfavorable toward these minority groups. Consequently complete liberty for them could not be realized for some time.

Attitudes toward the fringe groups varied within the constituency of the State Church. In 1859 Archbishop Reuterdahl expressed his feelings toward them by the statement, "Rejoice those who can do so. I cannot rejoice over this religious confusion and place in this old Sweden."[25]

A more tolerant attitude was exhibited by Bishop G. B. Bjork at his pastors' meeting in Göteborg when he pointed out that there should be a closer cooperation between the State Church and the new evangelicals, because, "there is a need for people whose faith is not genuine to find ground for such in such endeavors of others, for which our church has not offered sufficient hope."[26]

At a conference for pastors in Lund in 1858 the sunderance of the church was reported with the Baptists being the most eager, aggressive, and progressive. The presiding bishop was J. H. Thomander who had succeeded Reuterdahl in 1856 and was more liberal in his views. He could not advocate drastic measures when it could readily be seen that no good could come of such actions.

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[25] Westin et. al., De frikyrkliga samfunden . . ., p. 7.

[26] Ibid.

A summary of the Central Bureau of Statistics for the period 1856-1860 notes that in one coastal area, in addition to the parish church, several house of prayer and separate meeting places for worship and lectures had been erected. Although the prevailing conditions were a matter of concern for many officials of the State Church, others were ready to admit that in many instances great good had come from these private gatherings.

The Free Churches of Sweden

The free-church movement broke through in Sweden in the latter part of the nineteenth century. It is noteworthy that as early as the end of the seventeenth century Pietism was preparing the way for this development. Conditions prevailing in the nineteenth century Sweden which fostered the actual appearance of the free church are presented by Westin:

> In the middle of that century there was unbelievable poverty in wide circles. Dependence on agriculture was great, and when there was failure of crops the distress could be fearful; this all the more since money was in short supply. Then, too, the scant communication facilities did not allow for any extensive distribution of needed food supplies. The district officials in their five-year reports make mention of sad conditions, scant crops, drunkenness, the destitution of the hillside dweller and those of no regular employment. The turn of events came after the middle of the century. Industries by way of timber, railways and factories of various kinds served to put money into circulation. From 1870 and onward industrialization increased to a marked degree. In the meantime emigration continued, stimulated both by religious and economic motives. This indirectly had its effect on developments in the homeland. It was a period of social and religious ferment. Population increase was favored by certain Government measures; home building projects were undertaken; the drift towards the cities and communities became strong; good wages in the timber industries and in factories attracted not only the

> hired men of the farmers but also their own sons, as the complaint was voiced in a report in the 1870's.[27]

This was also a time of religious darkness and uncertainty as it was viewed by many of the church leaders. Westin describes this condition within the church:

> It was a time of shifting emphases between the freedom ideas of liberalism and the conventicle piety of the revival-minded. In the midst of it all, according to Bishop Sundberg "the poison of disbelief" was spread both by popular publications and a "loathsome section of the newspaper press." But it is also true that in this situation the revival and the free-church movement found its economically most generous supporters and aggressive workers. The real farmers, especially in Norrland and other forest sectors played an important role in the free religious movements.[28]

Archbishop Söderblom of Uppsala sounded a clarion call for unity, understanding, and cooperation between the two church bodies when in 1921 he said:

> Shall we here in Sweden need go through the same process as did the Christendom in England through many generations before the self-evident insight dawns upon us, that all of us who seek God's kingdom and His righteousness above all, in spite of our differences and habits, still are called to stand side by side in the church of Jesus Christ. My heart is consoled and strengthened when matters are taken seriously and we find that Church people and free-church people can stand as one man in defence of Christian faith and Christian nurture.[29]

The free-church movement received impetus, encouragement, and new ideas from the Methodists in England, the Presbyterians in Scotland and the Baptists in Germany and America. These all contributed to the disquietude of the church. The cause of Orthodoxy was championed by the followers of Kierkegaard, the Swedenborgians, and the liberals.

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[27] Ibid., p. 50.

[28] Ibid., p. 51.

[29] Ibid., p. 56.

Considerable emigration to America during this period resulted in thousands of Swedes coming into contact with the revival movements among American Baptists and Methodists. Many were converted to the new faith and returned with glowing reports of the situation in America and an enthusiasm to see the same religious awakening in Sweden. American influence of a similar nature was felt in Norway and Denmark.

Church historians agree that the protracted line of the pietistic and Herrnhutian movements led to the free-church movement in the middle of the nineteenth century. Developments prior to the 1850's, as has been indicated, were only the beginnings of the separation that was to come. The reports of bishops and other church leaders indicated tendencies toward separation rather than a firmly-established free-church existence. Westin is dogmatic when he maintains that the Swedish free-church movement is the "outflow of the old Swedish movement called 'readers,' though strongly stimulated by Anglo-American piety, not so much by way of theology, but rather in godliness and outlook upon life and especially in methods of conducting evangelical work."[30] The first of the separatist groups worth the name was the Norrland Hyper-Lutherans. They were a type of "reader" group who had undertaken to administer the communion apart from the regulations of the handbook, and around 1860 comprised approximately a thousand members.

Though sounding a bit prejudiced, Westin declares the "first clear free-church movement of any importance in Sweden, and which also broke through the barriers of hindering laws during this time was that of the Baptists."[31] By the end of 1859 they numbered about four thousand baptized members. It should be borne in mind that this was before any official permission had been given whereby anyone could identify himself with any free-church group. The movement gained support from Baptists in America and carried on an aggressive ministry under the able leadership of Anders Wiberg.

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[30] Ibid., p. 16.

[31] Westin, Den kristna friforsamlingen . . ., p. 11.

In point of time, the break-through of the Swedish Free Church can be reckoned from the year 1857 when the first national Baptist Conference was held in Sweden, at which time the denomination began to take definite shape. The Methodist Episcopal Church appeared on the scene around 1866 and by 1876 after much struggle and organizational difficulties became a permanent organization. The Mission Covenant was organized in 1878.

With all the laws in vogue which were unfavorable to the free-church ideal and the whole community steeped in church tradition, this hardly looked like the time for the appearance of the free-church. On the contrary, history has proved that the time was ripe and the separatists became firmly established. It must also be said that the Lutheran State Church "in its lower as well as higher religious instruction furnished the ground work and structure for the general Christian tenets of the free-church movement."[32]

The Baptist movement, like most of those of the free church, was influenced greatly by George Scott about whom much has been said already. Almost without exception, everyone of the early Baptist leaders had come into contact with the Wesleyan missionary. Many heard him preach while others had contact with him in less formal ways. When Scott was forced to flee the country, the Baptists drew inspiration from his successor, Rosenius. The Baptist advance in Sweden in no small part was inspired and helped by the Swedish Baptists of America who returned to their native country to carry on the work. Financial aid to educational and other institutions was forthcoming from the American churches.

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[32] Westin _et. al._, _De frikyrkliga samfunden . . ._, p. 13.

Two sailors, Gustav W. Schröder and F. O. Nilsson, were pioneers in the establishment of the Baptist faith in their own land. Nilsson (1809-1881), formerly a Swedish sailor and then later an American seaman, experienced a deep spiritual crisis during a storm off Cape Hatteras. When he returned from this particular voyage, he visited the Baptist Mariners' Church in New York, and after an assurance of his own spiritual well-being, he began a colporteur work among the Swedish and Norwegian sailors in that city. Inspired by the success of these efforts he returned to Sweden in 1839. Here he began a similar work in which he was engaged until he was invited by the Seamen's Friend Society of New York to work among the sailors in Gothenburg. In 1840 he met George Scott and Anders Wiberg in Stockholm. These men greatly encouraged Nilsson in his work.

In 1845 Nilsson met the sea-captain, Gustav Schröder, who had previously become a Baptist and joined the Baptist Mariners' Church in New York. In Gothenburg they studied the question of baptism, and when Schröder left for work in Chile the same year, he encouraged Nilsson to write to one of the prominent German Baptists, J. G. Oncken, concerning this subject. The result of this correspondence was that Nilsson travelled to Hamburg and in August of 1847 was baptized by Oncken in the River Elbe. In the face of impending danger and in the knowledge that the Conventicle Act was still in force, he returned to Sweden.

The work in Sweden proceeded very slowly, and at the end of a year five persons were baptized at night in the sea at Vallersvik near Gothenburg. The officiating clergyman was a Dane, A. P. Förster, who had been sent from Hamburg. This event caused a great sensation and the coming days were difficult for Nilsson. As a result of this and other of his missionary activities, he was brought to trial and by the provision of Conventicle Law was convicted and banished from the country. An appeal to the high court as well as to the king was of no avail in his case.

Nilsson left Sweden for Copenhagen in 1851 where he served as pastor until 1853; and when further persecution developed, he left for America. Here he became a circuit rider in the Mississippi Valley until 1860 when he returned to Sweden--still an outlaw. The Conventicle Act was modified in the same year and pardon was granted to him by Charles XV on December 11. Nilsson's case had attracted attention from far and near, and although the original decision seemingly was not in his favor, in due time sympathy was to turn to the Baptist cause and led ultimately to its prosperity.

Before Nilsson left for Copenhagen in 1851 he baptized a former State Church clergyman, Anders Wiberg, one night in July. Reference has already been made to Wiberg who became one of the strong leaders of the young Baptist Church in Sweden. He had been well acquainted with Rosenius, Scott and many of the "läsare" group. When the State Church officials became suspicious of his activities and religious beliefs, and after having suffered some degree of persecution for his separatist leanings he resigned from the formal ministry. His future service consisted of preaching and administering the communion at the small group meetings. In spite of the Rosenius' attitude toward separation, he was kind to Wiberg and as Stephenson suggests, "he probably wished to save him for the cause of evangelism within the State Church."[33]

Religious liberty in the United States fascinated Wiberg, and as a result of this interest he made the journey across the ocean where some significant developments took place. Their importance is expressed by Stephenson:

> The years of Wiberg's residence in the United States are as much a part of the history of the Baptists in Sweden as of the Swedish Baptists in America. In fact, the foundations of the Baptist church in Sweden were laid in the United States; above all it was the financial support that Wiberg obtained from individuals and organizations that made it possible for the sect to increase from a score or more at the time he went to the United States to about six thousand in 1863.[34]

His activities in the United States included work as a colporteur among the sailors and immigrants. This work was sponsored by the American Baptist Publication Society. In addition to this appointment he traveled among the Swedes in the various settlements, encouraging them in the faith. Truly he was a Swedish missionary working among his fellow countrymen in a foreign land.

His work in America was interrupted by an urgent call to return to Sweden and help organize the work there. He did return in 1855 and the same year he became pastor of the First Baptist Church of Stockholm. One of his first tasks was to set about to organize the Baptists in Sweden. Delegates came from various parts of the country from the forty-five churches which had been established. There were well over 2000 members in these churches; in 1857 alone nearly 1300 were baptized into the Baptist fold.

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[33] George M. Stephenson, The Religious Aspect of Swedish Immigration (Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press, 1932), p. 81.

[34] Ibid., pp. 82, 83.

Another of the early leaders of great stature was Gustav Palmquist, a name synonomous with the Baptist cause in Sweden and America. He had come into contact with the spiritual movement in Stockholm connected with the ministry of Rosenius and had read some of the writings of Wiberg. While in America he had become a Baptist, and during Wiberg's visit to the States the two met and traveled extensively together. One of the significant contributions Palmquist made to the Swedish Baptist cause in America was the founding of the first church in the U.S.A. at Rock Island, Illinois, in the early fall of 1852.

When Wiberg was going through a period of ill health, he urged Palmquist to return to Sweden to help develop and expand the work of the Baptists. Among his significant contributions was the leadership of a school for colporteurs which had been established a year before his return to Sweden. The Sunday school which was imported from America developed into a reputable institution in Sweden under the leadership of Per Palmquist, another of the famous brothers. Men who were to take places of leadership in both America and Sweden among the Swedish Baptists were inspired and taught by both Wiberg and Gustav Palmquist. The latter died in 1867 after a most successful ministry for the cause of Baptists in his native Sweden. His contribution to the cause of Baptist hymnody will be discussed in the next chapter of this thesis.

The aggressive spirit of the Baptists in Sweden during the early years of their struggle for religious liberty was commendable. In spite of persecutions and reverses their zeal was unabated, and they were determined to carry on what they believed was a God-given mission. By 1860 they numbered well over 4000 in membership. American help was extended in that when Wiberg returned to Sweden in 1855 he was still under the support of the American Baptist Publication Society. In 1866 the American Baptist Missionary Union took over the support of the work.

In 1866 Wiberg returned from another visit to the United States with funds and plans to start a theological seminary. Although the school for colporteurs had done a commendable job in the training of workers under Gustav Palmquist, Wiberg felt the need for a more adequate training for the Baptist ministers. After much discussion and debate following the proposal, it was decided to inaugurate a seminary and in the year 1866 "Betelkapellet" which was to become the center of Swedish Baptist activities. In June of 1966 the centennial of Bethel Seminary was celebrated with the dedication of the new quarters in one of the suburban sections of Stockholm.

The Baptists continued to have real problems of conscience regarding certain laws which they felt could not be obeyed. One matter of real irritation was regarding legal marriage. They felt that the Dissenter Law was not adequate for them and hence did not submit to it. As a result their pastors could not perform marriages. In extreme cases Baptist couples appeared before the congregations and declared themselves married. Quite naturally the State Church did not acknowledge such a marriage and children born to such a union were declared illegitimate. One of the great tenets of the Baptist position, liberty of conscience, was exhibited in such situations.

In 1857 the first national conference for Baptists was held, and in 1889 in Stockholm a more centralized organization became a reality in the formation of the Baptist Union of Sweden. That such a central organization was not begun sooner is explainable in the light of the Baptists' known fear of any kind of dictatorship. The work was divided into various departments under respective leaders, each with its own budget. By this organization the work has progressed with various departments of the Union carrying on an aggressive ministry and program at home and abroad.

Around the year 1860 the doctrine of sinless perfection was preached and in many congregations readily accepted. In 1870 a new separation took place which led to the formation of the Free Baptist denomination. Doctrinal and practical matters such as holiness and the education of pastors were the dividing issues. After several years as pastor in America, John Ongman (d. 1931) returned to Sweden in 1890 to begin an active work in the city of Örebro, which was one of the centers of free-church activity. He brought with him a zeal for the type of holiness movement he witnessed in the United States and was influential in his leadership in that direction. He organized Bible schools, young peoples' societies, and missionary groups. The Örebro Mission Society founded by him actually became the foundation for the Örebro Bible School.

Great emphasis was placed on the gifts of the Spirit, i.e. the speaking in tongues, and the imminent return of Christ in His second advent. A fresh impetus was given this Baptist group when the Pentecostal movement began around the year 1905-06. Opposition broke out against Ongman and the emphasis of his church, which led to his resignation in 1897 and his assuming the pastorate of the largest free church in Örebro, the Philadelphia Church.

After Ongman's death in 1931, real division came and many churches left the Baptist denomination. Quite a number have declared since then that such a division was not necessary. Ongman's group has continued as the Örebro Mission Society with its own schools, paper, publishing house, and missionary program. Its members number upwards of 20,000 while the Baptist Union has approximately 35,000. The Örebro group has maintained a definite independence from the latter group since Ongman's passing. A future relationship between the two is a matter of speculation. It is of passing interest to note that the most recent hymnal of the Baptists of Sweden represents a cooperative effort by both organizations.

Another smaller Baptist fellowship (known as the Holiness Association) emerged during the 1880's. This developed out of a spiritual revival in the province of Närke. In addition to the emphasis on holiness, great stress has been laid on the missionary outreach of the church and the encouragement of lay leadership within its ranks. The denomination has never been strong and at the present time its membership is about 4000 people.

The Methodist Church in Sweden, like the Baptist movement, is a product of the Anglo-American free church, and indebted to the great revivalists such as Moody, Wesley, Whitefield and Spurgeon. Men such as these exerted a powerful influence on the thinking and activity of those who were sympathetic to the free church cause.

The influence of Wesley and Whitefield can be seen in the Swedish preacher from Philadelphia, Dr. C. M. Wrangle. As pastor of the Swedish

Lutheran Church in Philadelphia in the 1760's he read the writings of Wesley and came in contact with the revival movements connected with the preaching of George Whitefield. On his return to Sweden in 1768 he had the experience of meeting personally the founder of Methodism at his headquarters in London. Although he cannot be credited with the actual founding of Methodism in Sweden, he was instrumental in the organization of the Scripture Distribution Society whose activity is indicated by its name. Wrangle's ministry and sphere of influence were felt in the court of King Adolph Frederick when he was appointed to be its chaplain.

Other Swedes had contact with Wesley. These, if even in an indirect way, had much to do with the establishment of Methodism in Sweden. In 1769 J. H. Liden attended meetings at Wesley's Chapel in London and became interested in the spread of Wesley's doctrines in Sweden. When N. S. Swederus, a parish priest in Ervala, heard that a Methodist mission had been started in Stockholm by Joseph A. Stephens, he wrote a letter to Stephens stating that he too had become a close friend of the Wesleys during his stay in London. Another Swedish Methodist, Christoffer Sundries, married one of Wesley's stepdaughters during a time of residence in London and became an officer of the City Road Chapel. Through relatives in Skåne he informed the Swedish people concerning the spread of Methodism through its missionary activities.

George Scott, the Wesleyan Methodist, was of exceptional importance in the establishment and spread of Methodism during his twelve-year ministry in Stockholm and its environs. His activities in the cause of Pietism have already been discussed. In the year 1833 he published a pamphlet on Methodism which was informative and widely read. Westin mentions that for a time Methodism and the "läseri" came to be regarded by the press as synonymous because of the extensive reading on the part of both groups.[35]

Scott's stand against formal separation from the State Church was commended by the clergy in 1859. His attitude in regard to separation is summarized by Westin.

> When the American Methodist Episcopal church started direct Mission in Sweden Scott came out in opposition to this and wrote letters to friends in Sweden asserting that this work did not represent true Wesleyanism. The Superintendent of the mission, V. Witting, wrote to the leaders in New York saying that the "worst enemy" the new Methodist mission in Sweden had was Scott . . . The superintendent of the Methodist mission in Scandinavia in his report of 1860 relates that George Scott in his visit to Sweden in 1859 in a large ministerial meeting had publicly advised believers not to leave the State Church but to remain in it. This had been published in a number of newspapers and it had militated against the growth of Methodism.[36]

Stephenson traces the actual origin of the Methodist Church in Sweden to the ministry of Olof Gustaf Hedstrom. As part of a South American expedition in 1825, Hedstrom found himself in New York when the expedition was abandoned. After marriage to an American woman he came into contact with some Methodists. He was converted to the cause and became an enthusiastic Methodist. With his wife he returned to Sweden on a mission to his parents and close friends. On his second visit to America he was accompanied by his brother who became the founder of Swedish Methodism in the western part of the country. Two years after his return to the States, Hedstrom became a recognized pastor of the New York Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church and served for ten years as pastor of English-speaking congregations. His position in relation to Swedish Methodism is evaluated by Stephenson:

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[35] Westin et. al., Den kristna friförsamlingen . . ., p. 68.

[36] Ibid., pp. 69, 70.

> Through the importunity of friends Hedstrom was induced to take up the work that not only gave him the distinction of being the founder of Swedish Methodism in the United States and indirectly the father of Methodism in Sweden but caused his name to be blessed by thousands of Swedish immigrants who, at a time when kind words and friendly advice were worth more than silver and gold, met the Methodist missionary for the first time as they landed at Castle Garden, gateway to the 'Promised Land."[37]

For a period of thirty years, from 1845 to 1875, Hedstrom was pastor of the Bethel ship in New York Harbor. His ministry was one of encouragement and counsel to Swedish immigrants upon their arrival in their new country. He extolled the American way of life and urged them to become good citizens. They were presented with Bibles and sent on their way.

While pastor in New York, Hedstrom had been instrumental in the conversion of two of the first missionaries to Sweden, namely, Albert Ericson and Victor Witting. Ericson was the son of a Lutheran pastor in Stockholm and had served as pastor in the Methodist Church in the United States before returning to Sweden in 1866. He had been elected president of the new Scandinavian Methodist Seminary in Chicago and went to Sweden for further preparation for this important and significant position. He became a much sought-after preacher in Sweden's capitol city. His enthusiastic followers requested that they be allowed to retain him as a regular pastor, but this request did not reach the mission board in time and Ericson returned to the States.

Simultaneous with this development was the arrival in Sweden of Victor Witting who came on a purely social visit to relatives in Skåne. Witting was born in Malmö on March 7, 1825. He arrived in New York in

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[37] Stephenson, op. cit., p. 117.

1845 as a Swedish sailor but two years later abandoned his career in the navy. After twenty years of travelling about the country, much of the time in search of gold, he returned to New York, a destitute man. At this time he came under the influence of Hedstrom and in 1855 entered the Methodist ministry. He later became editor of Lilla Sändebudet, the first official organ of Swedish Methodists in the United States.

"Witting's visit in Sweden inaugurated ten years of active ministry, during which the Methodist Church was organized."[38] He was induced by Bishop Calvin Kingsley, whom he had met in Copenhagen, to accept the position as Superintendent of Methodist missions in Sweden. He accepted, and from 1867 until 1876 Witting worked tirelessly in the organization and expansion of Swedish Methodism. He began with small groups, and the first congregations were formed in 1868, one in Stockholm and a second in Göteborg. The Swedish Methodist Missionary Society was organized in September of 1868, numbering in its constituency "7 congregations, 15 preaching places, 424 members and 5 Sunday schools with 34 teachers and 354 children."[39] Several publications were instituted including an official organ, pamphlets, and Sunday school materials. Wesley's sermons were advertised and read widely.

The spread of Methodism in Sweden was "eyed" by those who were friendly and unfriendly to the cause. The Methodists were accused of catering to the less intelligent among the Swedes and of emulating the colporteurs of the National Evangelical Foundation in their speaking. The work of the colporteurs was credited with the progress of the

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[38] Ibid., p. 120.

[39] Ibid.

Methodist church in Sweden. George Scott was most vocal in his denunciation of the movement, insisting that it had nothing to do with Wesleyan Methodism. The Baptists were included in the opposition, taking issues in the matter of pedo-baptism.

The church continued to grow, and already in 1873 Witting had the idea that a conference should be organized, but it was not until 1876, the year that Witting returned to America, that the American Conference sanctioned such a move. Westin reports on this event:

> It took place at the conference in Uppsala that same year, when the U.S.A. minister in Köpenhamn, himself a Methodist, graced the occasion by his presence. Bishop E. G. Andrews presided. He could report to his headquarters in the U.S.A. that the new annual conference was comprised of "societies" with a combined membership of 5,660. The creation of an "accredited" church was a consequence of the earlier decision to sever connections in conformity to the dissenter law of 1873. A division into districts was effected, each with a presiding superintendent, an arrangement that obtains at the present time.[40]

The Methodist church in Sweden was a well-organized denomination by the turn of the century, still with close ties with America. An American was always the presiding officer at the annual conference until 1904 when a bishopric (which included Sweden) was established in Zurich. American ties continued to be strengthened by the attendance of four delegates at the American yearly conference. Westin elaborates further on the Anglo-American relations of Swedish Methodism:

> Methodism has doubtlessly more than any other free church denomination reflected the Anglo-American religiosity, such as it appeared in revivals and free church formation. Wesley's dominating influence prevailed through his writings and practical work methods and became the norm for Methodist preachers. . . . Financial support and interrelationship served to

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[40] Westin _et. al._, _Den kristna friförsamlingen . . ._, p. 86.

> deepen the anchorage in American Methodist views and methods of work. The Methodist literature in Sweden also became rapidly infused with the impulses from the great revivals in the middle 1870's under the direction of Moody and Sankey. During the summer of 1876 the Book Concern gave notice that it was selling Sankey's song book, and later, a Supplement to Sankey's songs. Sankey was himself a Methodist. The Methodists like the Baptists suffered decline in numbers because of emigration. Many of their best pastors moved away not to return, as well as a large part of the membership.[41]

The formation of Svenska Missionsförbundet, (Swedish Mission Covenant) in 1878 had a long pre-history. The work of the colporteurs which stemmed from the "läsare" and the various freewill societies and meetings opened the way for "Evangeliska Fosterlandsstiftelsen," the strong arm of the Lutheran free church movement. When this organization was formed by followers of Rosenius in 1856, a new phase of the colporteur work in Sweden began. High church officials, mostly in the university at Lund, tried to suppress this venture, but again without success, because of the leadership of men like Victor Rydberg, who early in the 1850's began the struggle for religious freedom. At the time of Rosenius' death in 1868 the new group had nearly three hundred workers out in the various districts. This was the only organization with which the Lutheran evangelicals could unite. Many of the converts sought fellowship with the Baptists and Methodists who had more semblance of organization at this time.

Because of the different doctrinal emphases among the free church groups, controversy was much in evidence. It was at this time that the free church leader, Paul Peter Waldenström, began to assume a position of prominence. He was to become one of the greatest leaders in the free church cause and a powerful religious voice in the country. Like his great teacher and predecessor, Rosenius, he sought reform within the confines of the State Church. At one time he was offered a position on the faculty of the Augustana Theological Seminary in Chicago, but because of family pressures declined the position. He became editor of Pietisten after the death of Rosenius, but unlike Rosenius he sanctioned conventicles and the administration of the sacraments outside of the church, and he himself proceeded to officiate. His position on lay leadership was strong and decisive. His writings in Pietisten met with a storm of protest and inquiry, particularly his views on the atonement. Waldenström expressed hope that all of the evangelicals, including the Baptists and Methodists, could unite in one body, presumably the Lutheran. The baptismal issue stood in the way, and eventually he became convinced that such a consolidation would never materialize. Nevertheless, the entire evangelical cause experienced great growth and prosperity during the 1880's.

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[41] Ibid., pp. 86, 92.

A combination of developments brought about the forming of the Covenant. In addition to espousing Waldenström's theological views, particularly his view on the atonement, and consenting to conventicles, the preacher committee of which Waldenström was chairman, began to accept mission contributions apart from the Fosterlandsstiftelsen. This was the start of an independent mission organization. Missionary candidates who adhered to Waldenström's theories and church polity were rejected by Fosterlandsstiftelsen, and in due time Waldenström was expelled as a representative of the group. The "proverbial" committee was formed with a view to establishing a new organization with its own seminary for the training of its leaders. The committee drew up a plan for church order, and the new organization Svenska Missionforbündet came into being on August 2, 1878, in Stockholm in connection with the third preachers' meeting. Twenty-three delegates, not including Waldenström, met in a little room in the Bethel Chapel; without much fanfare the new church was born. Waldenström had hoped that the new organization might remain in the National Evangelical Foundation; however, when he realized there was little hope for this he joined the Covenant and was its greatest member until his death in 1917.

The various independent societies within the Förbund made consolidation necessary, but this came about very gradually. Disagreements arose between Waldenström and E. J. Ekman, the conference chairman. Under Ekman's leadership the denomination grew and at the twenty-fifth anniversary in June, 1903, he reported the following statistics:

1,100 churches
84,000 members
500 preachers
105,600 Sunday school pupils

Trouble ensued when in 1903 Ekman published his book entitled "The Fulness of the Gospel and the Endless Punishments." His whole theological slant was a cuase for a general uneasiness, and consequently Ekman could not retain his position, whereupon the elderly Waldenström assumed again the leadership of his denomination. He continued to exert powerful influence not only in the matters of organization and expansion but through his sermons and writings. In 1894 the first common songbook of the Covenant was published and its use was a unifying factor for Missionförbund.

The relationship of the Förbund to the State Church has been one which has challenged the thinking of church historians. In a technical sense the members of the Förbund remained within the Lutheran fold and continued to pay their taxes, even though in fact they became a distinct and separate organization. Karl Olsson comments on this relationship as follows:

> In its eighty some years of history, the Swedish Mission Covenant has never become the full-orbed church suggested in this process. It has vacillated between the society and the church concept. Its members are still, to an overwhelming number, nominally affiliated with the Church of Sweden. It could hold this anomalous position because it lived in the shadow of an establishment which indirectly gave content to the Covenant. The theology and even the liturgy of the Church of Sweden have had a profound effect upon the development of the Swedish Covenant. This is not to deny that other agencies have played their part. For example, the Pentecostal movement has served to define the role of the Swedish Covenant to a considerable extent. But the overarching fact has been the church.
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> When the American Covenant was organized in 1885, the most important formative influence was the Covenant of Sweden, started seven years before . . . although the two organizations began with almost the same pattern, the social circumstances in which the two groups were born and were to live their lives were vastly different. In America there was no established, or state, church to give character to a dissenting body. The fact was forgotten, or ignored, for many years. It is only recently that its implications have been seen.[42]

The Pentecostal church in Sweden is perhaps the most loosely organized of any of the groups considered thus far; at least it started out to be such, and even in the advancing years it has remained thus. Stephenson traces its origins to the ministry of the Swedish-American evangelist, Fredrik Franson, a native of Nora, Västmanland. He was born on June 17, 1852, and when he was seventeen his parents moved to America and settled in Kansas and later in Nebraska. In 1872 Franson was converted and joined the Baptist denomination. Almost immediately he became an evangelist, patterning his ministry after that of Moody and

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[42] Olsson, op. cit., p. 120.

Finney. His appeal was mainly to the three groups discussed in our study and he did not hesitate to cross denominational lines to make converts. His message emphasized the "gifts of the Spirit" and the second advent of Christ. In the autumn of 1881 he visited Sweden where within the space of two years he had visited more than half of the cities and hamlets with his message of the "baptism of fire." The Swedes responded to his message and were prepared for the several succeeding ministries which were of similar emphasis.

Another impetus in the direction of Pentecostalism came from T. B. Barratt of Oslo about whom more will be said in connection with Pentecostalism in Norway. Suffice it to say at this point that the impact of his ministry was felt deeply in Sweden. Representatives from different denominations in Sweden came to hear him preach and to receive his message.

The Baptist denomination became the center of this "new and radical" Pentecostalism in Sweden. Some of the oldest Baptist churches became involved in the movement as well as several younger congregations, such as the Seventh Baptist Church of Stockholm which was organized in 1910. In 1911 a young preacher by the name of Levi Pethrus came to be pastor of the Baptist congregation, and before long the church was divided because of the pastor's stand on many issues. Pethrus was not denominationally minded. The Philadelphia Church, as it is now known, became independent of denominational control and under Pethrus developed a ministry along Pentecostal lines. Through the leadership of Pethrus and his congregation the movement developed into an independent, free organization. It was held together through its publication, its corps of preachers, a Bible School, and other cooperative enterprises.[43]

Levi Pethrus, without a doubt, is the greatest leader of the Pentecostal movement in Sweden. In the book commemorating the fifty years of Pentecostalism in his native land, Pethrus recounts its development in a graphic way. He traces the tremendous growth within the span of fifty years and declares its potential in the future. Pethrus emphasizes that the industrialism, materialism and unbelief which followed the free church movement led to a weakening and downgrading of the churches. The element of the supernatural in Christian experience was relegated to the apostolic age and spiritual drought was the result.[44]

The Pentecostal revival broke forth with great momentum, and according to one historian, Professor Emanuel Linderström, it spread forth in great rapidity in Sweden such as no other movement had experienced. It emphasized Spirit baptism and the supernatural in Christianity shown in the gifts of the Spirit, especially tongue speaking and healing.

The concept of a free church has been exercised throughout its history and the churches have held together without central organization. The Pentecostal Mission today has upward of four hundred missionaries on approximately thirty fields of the world. In 1943 a school was begun comparable to those in the public school system of Sweden. The Philadelphia Church in particular has taken every advantage and opportunity of television and radio to extend its ministry. This particular aspect of its growth has been phenomenal.

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[43] Gunnar Westin, The Free Church Through the Ages, trans. Virgil A. Olson (Nashville: Broadman Press, 1958), p. 347.

[44] Svenska Pingstväckelsen Femtio År, ed. Axel Blomqvist (Stockholm: Förlaget Filadelfia, 1957), pp. 6, 7.

The Pentecostal movement has far surpassed the hopes and aspirations of its early founders. The varied aspects of its ministry including the churches, missions, musical program, literature, publications, radio, television, etc., still challenge its leadership. An active ministry characterizes the Pentecostal churches in Sweden. It continues to attract those from other denominations, as it did from the Baptists in the 1930's, as well as those who heretofore have been unchurched.

Another group which might legitimately be placed close to the Pentecostals is Helgelseförbundet (Holiness Covenant). It is an outgrowth of the Methodist emphasis on an emotional experience of sanctification and sinless perfection. C. J. A. Kihlsledt, a clergyman of the State Church, became one of the early evangelists in this holiness movement. Another early leader was Miss Nelly Hall who was a disciple of Fredrik Franson. In 1887 after ten years of ministry there were 158 evangelists on the field. Helgelsförbundet remained a missionary organization working in cooperation with the free churches as much as possible.[45]

The Free Churches of Norway and Denmark

"The oldest principle-clear, continually on-going free-church movement in Norway is Methodism."[46] So writes Westin concerning the work of the Methodist church in that country. Its progress was due to its connection with the Methodist church in the United States, and its development into a rather solid, free-church organization is the result of the guidance and oversight of the American bishops. The Methodists carried on a system of pastoral exchange with America, which procedure greatly strengthened the churches.

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[45] Westin et. al., De kristna friförsamlingen . . ., p. 140.

[46] Ibid., p. 258.

Naturally opposition grew as was true in all phases of the establishment of free churches in Scandinavia. Many believers could not see the necessity of missionaries being sent to Norway, the same as to the so-called "heathen" countries. As was true with the Baptists, the American Methodists considered the work in Norway as a foreign mission project.

O. G. Hedstrom had a part in the Methodist witness in Norway in that many sailors and emigrants were converted in the Bethel Chapel in New York and returned as missionaries to their native Norway. One such person was O. P. Petersen who in 1849 returned to Norway to preach, making many converts during his one year stay. Near the close of 1853 Petersen returned to Norway as a missionary followed by Danish-born, C. Willerup who came to strengthen the Methodist cause. These two men established the first congregations for the Methodists in Sarpsborg and Fredrikshold.

Most of the preachers of the first generation of Methodists were emigrants who returned to their country from America to preach the Gospel. There were some exceptions to this situation, however, and the first man of importance among the native preachers was Martin Hansen, who later was made a district superintendent by the new denomination. The work of the Methodists progressed, and a church was begun in Oslo in 1864; in 1869 Petersen became the general superintendent of the Methodists in Norway.

The cause of Methodism in Norway was greatly strengthened by the ministry of one of its native sons, T. B. Barratt. He joined the Methodist church in Bergen in 1881 and was officially received into the conference in 1889. In 1892 he became pastor in Oslo where he remained for six years. Barratt will be considered later as a great leader among the Pentecostals in Norway, but in the 1890's he stood foremost among the greatest preachers and leaders among the Methodists.

The Baptists of Norway did not experience a spectacular beginning nor a phenomenal growth. Norwegian seamen and emigrants in the United States played a significant role in the Baptist cause here as elsewhere. The Baptists of Sweden were more influential in the Baptist cause in Norway than were the Swedish Methodists in theirs.

The first Baptist preacher in Norway was a Danish seaman, Fredrik Rymker, who was converted and baptized, like so many others, in New York. He first served as preacher in Denmark, then, under the auspices of American Baptists and the Seaman's Friend Society, came to Norway and settled in Skien. His labors took him also to Porsgrund and Larvik where Baptist churches were established in the 1860's.

At the beginning Rymker was a welcome guest in the pulpit of the Lammers Free Church, and in general cordial relationship existed between Rymker and this group. Lammers had maintained a strong feeling against re-baptism, and when, as a result of Rymker's preaching, people began to ask for re-baptism this relationship cooled off. Many of those who were thus re-baptized did not become Baptist but formed themselves into a "Christian Dissenter Church," which also practiced open communion. Some of the influential leaders did become very capable and effective leaders in newly-organized Baptist churches.

Rymker realized after a time that his work in Norway had come to an end, so he withdrew to Sweden and his support from America was cancelled. Before he left, however, the Baptist cause in Norway was strengthened by the preaching of F. O. Nilsson who came in 1861 and preached for nearly six weeks. Converts were made and several baptismal services were held during this time.

At the suggestion of Nilsson for a strong preacher to be sent to Norway, Ola Hansson of Skåne was sent to carry on the work in Skien when Rymker left. Hansson's territory included southern Norway where he labored until the close of the 1860's, when he began a pioneer work in the northern part of the country.

The first native Norseman among the Baptist preachers was the seaman G. Hübert, who after his conversion in the United States began to preach and in 1862 came to Norway to do missionary work. He was supported by the English Baptist Missionary Society for several years and carried on a ministry in various places in southern Norway. In the latter 1860's he went to the West Coast where he labored in Bergen and Stavanger. A church was organized in Bergen in 1870, and with the help from English Baptists a chapel was erected in 1872. By his efforts support was also forthcoming from England for the work of several pastors from Sweden. Hübert remained in Bergen until 1879 at which time he took up the work in Skien. The church there purchased the Lammersian House of Prayer in 1890.

Two other Swedes were responsible for the ongoing of the Baptist cause in Norway. One of them was Olof Larsson from Dalarna, who labored in the 1860's in the vicinity of Bergen, Trondheim, and Troms; the other was Olof Palm who was one of Wiberg's colporteurs. Several others from Sweden followed in subsequent years and made significant contributions to the Baptist work. At the time of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Norwegian Baptist Conference in 1902 in Skien there were thirty-five churches with 2700 baptized members and a combined total in the Sunday school of approximately 1770. This was a substantial growth in numbers since the formation of the conference in 1877, when there were just a little over 500 members.

The impact of the Baptist church on the religious life of Norway is expressed by one of its strong leaders, Arnold T. Ohrn:

> The Baptists of Norway are a small, but united and well organized body. Their influence on religious life in Norway has been immeasurably greater than their numbers would indicate. Their witness to Gospel truth has penetrated far within other circles. There are several times as many immersed believers outside the Baptist denomination as there are within it. Many others have broken with the state church principle. But even more important is the influence of the Baptist message within the state church itself. Dr. P. Stiansen writes: "The evangelical message, the denial of sacramentalism, and the necessity of entering into a personal relationship with God, have been accepted by a large number of people within the state church among both laymen and clergy . . . Even the methods of work have been adopted; Sunday schools, prayer and testimony meetings etc. are found today within the church as on the outside of it. The result is that while the state church at the beginning of the nineteenth century had very little evangelical life, today it is most likely true that the strongest spiritual life in Norway is found within the state church. It is evident that some of the other dissenting bodies share with the Baptists in this influence upon the state church."[47]

The Norwegian Mission Covenant Church had its roots in the Lutheran Free Church, as we have seen was the case in Sweden. The activities of Lammers had brought into focus the condition of the State Church and the need for reform. At a national Meeting in Oslo in 1873 attended by over 600 people, debate was carried on concerning church reform and demands were made of the government in lectures and motions for such reform. The government showed little interest or concern in the matter.

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[47] Johannes Norgaard _et. al._, _Baptist Work in Denmark, Finland, Norway and Sweden_ (Stockholm: Westerbergs, 1947), pp. 60-61.

Growing out of the situation came serious consideration for a Lutheran free church organization. Two pastors left the establishment and in 1876 went to Scotland to study the free-church organization and activity in that country. After long and thorough preparatory work in large assemblies, the Lutheran Free Church of Norway was organized in 1878. It was a hard blow to the new organization that one of the delegates to Scotland, J. S. Munch, reentered the State Church as Lammers had done previously.

The influence of Rosenius was seen in the new group in the preaching of free grace. It had a Presbyterian polity, but was strictly Lutheran in doctrine.[48] (An early form of ecumenicity!) The progress of the free church was good, although there were instances of radicalism and separatism. The individual churches were autonomous although basically the ideas of the general church prevailed. The denomination is not now classified as a dissenter group and its members are permitted to teach religion in the public schools. By the 1940's the group had grown to a membership of 6000 among fifty-eight churches, with its own youth schools, book concern, and publications.

The group which more nearly represented the Lutheran free church idea was the Norwegian Mission Covenant which drew its inspiration from the Covenant Church in Sweden. "Det Norske Misjonsførbund" was organized in the middle of the 1880's. Westin credits two major factors which led to its appearance. One factor was that several churches of the Lammers' movement in Skien still existed but no common organization; members found it very easy to join the Førbund. These churches were located in Oslo, Skien, Bergen and Larvik, to cite just a few.

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[48] Westin _et. al._, _Den dristna friförsamlingen . . ._, p. 280.

More immediate in influence, according to Westin, was the revival effort of Fredrik Franson during the year 1883. His continued ministry during several periods well into the twentieth century gave added strength and encouragement to this, another free-church development. His influence was strong and lasting over the whole country of Norway, and this assistance in the formation of the Førbund was decisive.

The neo-evangelism of C. O. Rosenius in Sweden was held in high regard in Norway, and his sermons and other writings had wide circulation and ardent readers. The Lutheran missionary groups which sprang up over the country held views for the most part comparable to those of Svenska Fosterlandsstiftelsen. When the movement under Waldenström spread to adjoining provinces in Norway, many Swedish preachers became active leaders there. In Oslo a crisis with the Lutheran Mission Society ensued in 1870 and resulted in the formation of the Kristiania Ansgarii Mission Society. The Lammers church in Oslo joined this new enterprise in 1881. Membership could be maintained within the new society without severance from the State Church. Divergent views concerning baptism and the communion did not play an important role in membership requirements, only a simple Christian faith. This was Waldenström's concept of the New Testament church.

These free societies were reluctant to organize into a denomination, but the passing of time showed the necessity and advisability for some type of organization. C. B. Flock, an itinerant preacher from Oslo who had been connected with the Lammers group, agitated for organization in his publication "Morgenroden." Thus, a combination of circumstances led to the formation of the "Mission førbund" in 1883, six years after the counterpart in Sweden. Several Swedes participated in this organization.

As the denomination grew, a more structured organization was deemed necessary. Young people joined the church through the revival activities of Franson, thus necessitating the building and staffing of Bible and theological training schools. Through the bequest of a friend of the Førbund a school was started in 1913. In addition to the aforementioned paper, "Morgenroden" by Flock, another paper appeared in 1903 known as the "Talesmonden" (The Spokesman). In 1924 the name was changed to "Misjonsbladet." Through the instrumentality of Franson a songbook "Evangelii Basun" was published and in the ensuing years went through several revisions. More will be said in Chapter Three concerning this volume. The Norwegian Publication Society was formed in 1933. In one brief period the membership of the Førbund doubled from 500 to 1000. Missionary outreach was a vital part of the program, and by 1940 the Førbund could count seventy-eight churches with more than 6000 members, and sixty full-time preachers.

Free Congregationalism in Norway fostered the formation of many smaller groups which shunned membership in the Førbund as well as any type of unity among themselves. They were mostly of the revival-type emphasis. One of the preachers, Albert Lunde, spoke to as many as 5000 or 6000 persons in the Cal Meyerstree Mission House. This work continued as the "Evangelical Church's Own Mission House."

"It was the Methodist pastor, T. B. Barratt of Oslo, who more than anyone else merited the name of pioneer for the Pentecostal movement in the Northlands."[49] So writes Westin of the man whom we have already met in connection with Methodism in Norway and the Pentecostal activity in Sweden. Barratt had followed with keen interest the preaching of Evan Roberts and the revival in Wales under his ministry. On the way to America to seek funds for the erection of a Methodist mission he experienced a thorough-going change in his life, with the accompanying gifts of the Spirit, in particular speaking with tongues. Through his reading of Roberts, Charles Finney, and other revivalists he had directed his thinking toward some unusual spiritual experience for himself.

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[49] Ibid., p. 290.

Suffering humiliation at not receiving the financial aid he sought, he set out for Los Angeles in the fall of 1906 and there became acquainted with the "Spirit baptism" movement which made a drastic change in his life and outlook. The result of this contact was that he became the outstanding apostle of the Pentecostals in the North Countries.

Barratt's position in the Methodist church added strength to the Pentecostal revival in Norway. His publication "Byposten" (The Village Post) became the mouthpiece for the new movement. True to form, opposition came from both Sweden and Norway via the papers, but this only helped the cause by attracting people to it. As has already been mentioned, people came from Sweden to see the working of the new denomination. Some of Barratt's worst antagonists were among the Methodists in Norway. At the conference meeting in the summer of 1907 he asked to withdraw from the pastors' organization in order to enjoy freedom to carry on the work which had had such a noteworthy beginning. He did indicate his desire to retain his membership in the Methodist church, however.

His missionary endeavors took him as far away as India in 1908. Upon his return he assumed his work in Norway in the interest of spreading Pentecostalism among his people. In the fall of 1910 a Pentecostal congregation was organized in Oslo and "Byposten" had its name changed to "Korsets Seier" (The Cross Victorious). This became the official organ of the Pentecostal church in Norway.

It took some time for Barratt to clarify his thinking in regard to church polity. The question of baptism was a crucial one with all of the free-church groups and the most difficult on which to achieve unanimity. On a visit to Örebro in 1913 he requested baptism of John Ongman but was refused on the ground that he had no intention of becoming a Baptist. Pastor Levi Pethrus was less apprehensive about the implications of such a baptism and so baptized Barratt. When Barratt himself began to administer baptism in his separate church, his position in the Methodist church became untenable. In 1916 he declared his intention to sever his connections with the Methodists with whom he had been associated since childhood. In a very real sense this decision might be considered the beginning of the first Pentecostal church in Norway. In 1921 the church in Oslo assumed the name "Fladelfia" and at this time and in a real sense became the "mother" church of the Pentecostals in Norway, comparable to the church in Stockholm by the same name.

The denomination grew rapidly with many similar churches joining the ranks. In less than twenty years Pentecostalism had become the largest free-church denomination in Norway. The foreign mission program was organized in 1915 with responsibility for the work in half a dozen countries. Barratt lived to see the Norwegian Pentecostal churches grow in number to 258 with a combined membership of 30,000. To the time of his death in 1940 he remained their "unchallenged leader and example."[50]

The revival movements of the 1800's reached to the country of Denmark as they had in other Scandinavian countries. Like Norway, Denmark had experienced a time of awakening around the year 1700, but opposition in the form of conventicle acts and various other types of regulations tended to thwart the spread of revivalism. Most of the revivalist activities were carried on within the national churches. Now at the turn of the century there was a renewed interest introduced partly through a resurgence of Pietism and Moravianism and partly through the influence from similar movements in England and America. Both of these countries extended financial support for evangelistic efforts in Denmark.

Reference has already been made to the life and ministry of Nikolaj Grundtvig in Denmark. From the movement he led, small free-will type congregations developed; however, for the most part they remained within the limits of national Lutheranism. A law enacted in 1849 granted limited religious liberty in that it provided for a voluntary separation from the State Church, although at the same time the state could prevent the recognition of the smaller free denominations. Baptists in Denmark were not recognized as a denomination until 1952 while the Methodists received recognition in 1865. This law did not precipitate a large-scale severance from the established church, mainly because the revival movements from a theological standpoint were conservatively Lutheran. "They were led either by the genial Grundtvig with his national pathos and enthusiasm for popular education, or by the pietistic Beck and his men. These came by and large to put their imprint on religious life and to recapture the church."[51]

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[50] Ibid., p. 293.

In Sweden a more fragmentary development resulted in many more free-churches being established than in Norway and Denmark. Even though in the latter two countries a movement for the establishment of free-churches came forth, it never became as significant as in the church-life of Sweden. Free-church congregations began to appear in Denmark in the middle of the 1850's under the leadership of U. P. Grunnet. His previous plans to become a missionary did not materialize, and upon his return to Denmark he set about to establish free mission societies. The first free-church in Denmark was established in Copenhagen in 1855. Under the influence of Kierkegaard, Grunnet became critical of the State Church and strongly advocated self government for the individual congregation. He was ordained in an English free-church in Hamburg and until 1897 was a strong leader in the free-church movement in Denmark. For forty years he traveled in the interest of free-churches, but the movement never had any unusual strength. In a period of thirty-five years to 1890 there were only ten such churches with a membership of about 700. This particular movement, although it was a start, did not play a significant role in the religious life of Denmark.

Westin considers the Baptists to be the real pioneers in the free-church movement in Denmark as they were in Sweden. Unlike Sweden, its early leaders were not seamen or emigrants who had been converted in America. The real forerunner of the Baptist movement in Denmark was

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[51] *Ibid.*, p. 298.

P. C. Mönster, a goldsmith and engraver, who came to the Baptist position simply by his own private study of the Bible. He had been associated with one of the revival movements at Fyn as one of its strong leaders. Baptism and other church matters were lively topics of discussion in these circles, and questions arose and issues came to the fore regarding many phases of State Church life and teachings. Mönster's conducting of many conventicles brought him before the law courts and resulted in his moving to Copenhagen in 1835. While there he came to know Grundtvig and to appreciate the latter's stand on the matter of the state church order but was in complete disagreement with him on the subject of baptism.

In the capital city were small groups which met for Bible study and other religious exercise. Mönster joined himself to these and became an active leader as did P. E. Ryding, in whose home such meetings were conducted. Another leader in these early days was Julius Köbner, a man of Jewish descent, who had come into contact with Baptists in Germany and had been baptized by the German Baptist leader, J. G. Oncken. He had much to say on the subject of baptism at these gatherings. Soon Mönster believed that he ought to identify himself with the Baptists, and others came to the same conviction. In 1839 Oncken came to Copenhagen and baptized eleven converts to the Baptist faith. P. E. Ryding, who was destined to become a strong leader among Danish and Swedish Baptists, was in this first group to be baptized. Thus was formed the first free church in Denmark of any real and lasting significance. Mönster was elected to serve as the leader for this small group. The first organizational meeting took place in Mönster's home, which is still standing at Hummergade Nr. 6 in Copenhagen. At this time the First Baptist Church of Copenhagen came into being.

There followed times of persecution and stress in which many of the Baptist leaders were fined and imprisoned. Bishop Mynster led the attack in insisting that the laws of repression should be strictly enforced. During the 1840's children of Baptists were gathered up and taken to the State Church where baptism was forced upon them. Such action aroused protest even among the Lutheran clergy, and even before the law of 1849 this practice was abandoned. Enforced baptism was not officially annulled by law until 1857, however.

In spite of opposition and persecution, the Baptist work in Denmark continued to grow, and new churches were organized in various parts of the country. One of the earliest to be organized was in the city of Aalborg under the leadership of O. N. Föltved. This church grew in strength during his term of ministry which extended from 1840 until his death in 1856. It has been one of the strongest for the Baptist witness in Denmark even to the present day.

Though comparatively few in number in the early days, the leaders among the Danish Baptists have been strong and efficient. Köbner became pastor of the church in Copenhagen in 1865 and also served as leader of the entire Danish Baptist constituency for thirteen years. His theological works as well as his books of poetry were a source of encouragement to the whole Danish Baptist cause. His leadership in these early crucial days was a stabilizing and unifying factor in the progress and development of this new group. Among the pioneers and early leaders was Marius Larsen who served the Copenhagen church for nearly a quarter of a century and N. P. Jensen, a Danish-American, who brought about a close contact with the American Baptists. The latter endeavors resulted in financial aid from America.

The formation of the First Baptist Church in Copenhagen paved the way for other free churches in Denmark of which there is quite a variety. Though recognized officially in comparatively recent years (1952) the presence of the Baptist church in Denmark has been a stimulus to the Danish people whether they are members of the free or State Church. A spirit of tolerance and understanding between the two groups was exhibited at the Baptist Centenary in 1939 when officials of the State Church participated actively in the program, at which time they acknowledged the need for religious liberty for all peoples of their country.

An early representative and leader in Danish Methodism was Christian Willerup who, like so many others, was converted in the United States and at once became active in the Methodist Church. In 1850 he was called to assist in the ministry of the famous Bethel Ship in New York harbor where he contacted many seamen and emigrants from the northern countries. His interest in Methodist missions resulted in his going to Copenhagen, where he worked in the organization of the Methodist church in that city. He solicited funds from America to be used in the building of a church edifice. Organization was troublesome because of so few charter members with which to begin a church. Eventually in 1865 the needed funds were provided and the edifice was completed. The church in time became known as the "Jerusalem Church," and a Norwegian-American preacher P. Rye was called to assist Willerup, especially in the English services.

Willerup continued in his role as superintendent of the Danish Methodist Church until 1872. During building operations he became involved in misunderstandings and difficulties of various kinds, and this together with writing and teaching responsibilities caused a breakdown in his health. In 1873 he was succeeded by a young man Karl Schou, also a Danish-American. Because of the progress of Methodism during his term of office, many feel that he is the real founder of Methodism in Denmark. Another early leader of this denomination was J. J. Christensen who died in 1904 after several years of fruitful work among the Methodists.

The church experienced a continued growth during the 1880's, and at the twenty-fifth anniversary in 1883 its membership numbered about 1000, which figure was to be doubled in the next five years. In 1888 a preparatory school for the training of ministers was established with Ole Oleson as the director. There was also constant activity in the formation of Epworth Societies, work for young people, and the erection of church buildings and parsonages. Much interest was shown in social work, including the cause of temperance. One of the early leaders in the temperance movement in Denmark was Pastor C. F. Eltzholtz. He founded an absolutist society in 1879 in the Vejle Methodist Church. Children's and convalescent homes under Methodist auspices were numerous throughout the country. One of the largest social agencies sponsored by the Methodists was the Central Mission in Copenhagen where an extensive welfare work was carried on by its founder, Anton Bast. He was the choice of the American Methodists for the Bishop of Scandinavia. Troubles which arose in the mission forced Bast's resignation in 1928 and his ultimate severance from the Methodist body. In more recent years the Jerusalem Church has had the direction of the Central Mission's program.

In spite of struggle and reverses, particularly in the 1920's, the Danish Methodist Church continued to exert a positive influence.

Strong missionary work is being carried on in parts of Asia and the Congo and its present membership is in the neighborhood of 4000.

As was true in the other Scandinavian countries, the Missionforbundet had its roots in the Lutheran free-church movement in Denmark. The Forbund was a long time in formation, and when it came into its own it was of "humble proportion" in comparison with the other free-church bodies. Another of Kierkegaard's disciples, M. A. Sommer, played a decisive role in preparing the way for the free-church by influencing certain circles against the State Church. It remained for a Danish-American, N. P. Lang, to become the real free-church pioneer in Denmark. Westin describes his ministry as follows:

> In 1882 he returned to the homeland and in Copenhagen started to hold meetings among Lutheran Mission Friends. Lang had before going to the U.S.A. been influenced by Lammers' free-church movement, and had also become acquainted with Oscar Ahnfelt's songs. He had done preaching in the U.S.A. and had been inspired by D. L. Moody and the movement centering around him. He now agitated eagerly for a clear revival preaching of a kind that was not favored by all. A schism ensued between Lang and the leaders in the Lutheran Mission House where he conducted his work. Those around Lang withdrew and held meetings in another meeting-house. Even there dissensions arose and Lang proceeded to Norway on a preaching tour. In the meantime the said free-church group organized a tract society which became the focus for the Moody inspired revival movement.[52]

Lang returned to Denmark and resumed his work during the winter of 1883-84 when some Swedish evangelists were "holding forth" in Copenhagen. Real headway in the revival movement was made through the ministry of Fredrik Franson, and as was true of his preaching elsewhere, opposition to his fiery message developed, which only furthered the evangelical cause. As in Norway, Franson may be considered the one who inspired the formation of Missionforbundet. Miss Catherine Juell, one of Franson's converts from Norway and a lady of high social standing, participated in revival campaigns in Denmark. The presence of a woman revivalist of the type of Franson caused quite a sensation and much opposition.

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[52] *Ibid.*, p. 320.

Another personality of note to appear on the religious scene in Denmark was a Dane Jens Jensen-Maar who became an outstanding leader in the Forbund. After his conversion he began to preach and was considered by the rank and file of those who heard him to be a promising evangelist and preacher. His contact with the men of the free-mission group was of great inspiration to him, and in time he himself was to become a highly esteemed preacher among them.

Thus the spiritual awakening inspired the formation of many free societies in the country of Denmark, and the new denomination was taking shape and needed organizing. A conference was called in Aalborg in 1888 and the Danish Missionforbund was organized, patterned on strictly congregational principles. Some adherents did not want to use the name as such and so it was not used uniformly; others preferred to be known merely as the "Free Mission" Society.

Quite naturally the subject of baptism came up for discussion, a question on which some of the leaders were divided. In 1899 the denomination made a pronouncement in which it was stated that "baptism and communion is to be observed by all the Forbund's preachers in accordance with each one's interpretation of the Scriptures."[53] In time members were urged to sever connections with the State Church in matters of baptism, communion and marriage, although complete severance was not mandatory.

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[53] Ibid., p. 324.

Just at the turn of the century the young denomination was beset with teachings such as sinless perfection and Russelism, and in 1902 there was a split in the ranks. Those who remained with the Forbund showed real enthusiasm coupled with stability, and the work progressed even though the members were fewer. The first songbook of the Forbund, "Evangelii Basun" was published in 1885 and contained many translations from Swedish, Norwegian, and English.

Pentecostalism in Denmark can be traced to the preaching of its great leader, T. B. Barratt, and his meetings in Copenhagen. Derogatory writings concerning him in the press only helped to strengthen his ministry and draw the crowds. A noted opera star, Anna Larsen, joined the movement, and this alone proved to be quite sensational and a means of attracting others. According to Barratt's own account, during his visit to the capital city in 1909 and 1910 disturbance and violence erupted. In the midst of this turmoil the Philadelphia Church was formed though it was not until 1915 that it was fully organized.

When the Baptist view on baptism became predominant, some withdrew from the group. One such, Pastor Mygind, labored as an independent missionary. Upon his return to Denmark in 1917 he opposed violently Baptistic views and as a consequence joined the State Church and fought this "heresy" from there. Lt. and Mrs. Sigurd Björner were baptized among "Swedish Pentecostal Friends" in 1919, and like Barratt before them, they were no longer welcome in regular church circles. As a result of their witness and its resultant treatment, the Evangel Church was formed in

Copenhagen and drew its membership from among many of their sympathizers in the Philadelphia Church. This move was made after a Pentecostal conference in Copenhagen in 1919, at which time no reconciliation was possible. Subsequent to this event was the breaking away of many churches because of doctrinal emphases and the formation of new groups of Pentecostals. Finally the Elim Church became the largest and most regular in Danish Pentecostalism.

Summary

The rise of the free-church movement in Scandinavia had its beginnings in the Pietist and Moravian movements in eighteenth century Europe. Even a cursory study of both movements reveals that the foundation principles of each agree with the basic premises of the free churches, namely the centrality of the Bible and the correctness of doctrine issuing in practical righteous living. The meeting of the Pietists in conventicles became the pattern for the beginning of the various free-church groups. While Pietism did not form free churches or become a separate organization, the Moravians were separatists and thus became the pioneers and the pattern for the separatist groups. According to Westin:

> It is therefore significant to note that the fellowship which the Moravians had developed in Germany and which spread to many countries became in its practical development a type of a free church--"a gathered church." The type of work among the Moravians became a pattern for the Continent and Scandinavia and prepared the way for conventicles and congregations of believers. . . . The Moravians won followers not the least by their songs of fellowship--Zion's songs. . . . However, this movement with societies, preachers, meeting halls, and literature did little to organize people in a succession of new local assemblies. The entire Moravian movement from an organizational standpoint was very limited, and besides this, in the Lutheran

> countries it had an uncertain position. It accepted the Augsburg Confession and wanted to be recognized as Lutheran, but it carried on its own ministry alongside the legal state church worship. There was thus a restraining element in the Moravian free church and its ministry.[54]

The "classes" established by George Scott in his ministry in Stockholm (1830-1842) had a free-church character similar to the Wesley class meetings in London.

Prominent in the development of the free-church movement in Scandinavia were C. O. Rosenius and Peter Waldenström. The National Evangelical Society, (Fosterlandsstiftelsen), with which they were associated, was the forerunner of the Mission Covenant group. The other groups were greatly indebted to American influence and Scandinavian-American and English leadership, for their establishment. The Baptists in particular were indebted to Germany and to men like Oncken for their encouragement in the dark beginning days in Scandinavia.

The Pentecostal movement with its emphasis on spiritual gifts has become a rather strong force in the religious life of Scandinavia. Its position in the free-church movement in the North is enunciated by Westin:

> This group is so young that it has played a small role in free-church development. It has not added anything new to the concept of the church. The characteristic of the Pentecostal movement, at least in Sweden, is that it pushes the congregational idea of the independence of the church to the extreme, at least in theory. It is clear, therefore, that in some respects it has strengthened the free church stream of separation during the last forty years. Moreover, the movement is in constant flux. In some countries this church group has had a good success; in others it has

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[54] Westin, The Free Church . . ., p. 279.

> made very little progress. In the United States there are several groups, but all together they make up a comparatively small body alongside the large denominations. Pentecostal groups are enjoying rapid growth in many parts of the world.[55]

Each free-church group had its struggles during the years of growth and expansion, but the relatively firm position of the free church in Scandinavia today, even though it cannot compare to the State Church, is a testimony to the faith, determination, and optimism of its dedicated leadership in the pioneer days. Its influence on the State Church is best seen in the country in Norway, where today, because of the witness of the free churches, the State Church maintains a strong evangelical witness. Although the free churches are the strongest in Sweden, their effectiveness in the cause of organized Christianity in the rest of Scandinavia should not be minimized. In hymnody their contribution was of great significance as subsequent study will reveal.

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[55] Ibid., p. 363.

CHAPTER III

THE HYMNODY OF THE PIETIST MOVEMENT IN SCANDINAVIA

The hymnody of the Reformation in Scandinavia had its roots in the hymnody of the German Reformation. A similar situation was obtained in the relationship between the hymnody of Scandinavian Pietism and that of German Pietism. It is altogether appropriate that a brief sketch of the hymnody of the German pietistic reform precede that of the same movement in the Scandinavian countries.

Church Music Practices of the Pietists

The Pietists instituted many reforms in corporate worship. August Francke had warned them about the danger of excesses in worship as well as superstitions concerning the appointments of the sanctuary. Consequently there was the tendency toward oversimplification of the liturgy and the abolishment of anything that was not considered of vital significance to the worship experience.

In reforming the liturgy, Pietists in many cities eliminated the worship services of traditional Lutheranism. Prescribed lessons and texts according to the church year were not rigidly adhered to, and great stress was laid on the preaching of practical Christianity as found in the Pauline Epistles. Spontaneous impromptu praying was encouraged as a means of grace rather than prayers prescribed in a service book. The penetential aspect of communion was stressed as well as the renewal of the baptismal vow and conversion in connection with confirmation. Personal confession declined as an ordinance because of the inroads of Pietism.

The Pietists carried on a major part of their reform in church music and more particularly in hymnody. Hymns became substitutes for various parts of the liturgy, for instance, the creed was often replaced by a hymn. Hymns gradually degenerated toward a more subjective type commensurate with the subjective, personal emphasis in all of pietistic worship. Latin Chants were abolished and anthems were no longer used in the service of worship. The chorale, though not discarded entirely, had a very limited part in the music of the congregation.

Pietists became increasingly opposed to the use of "artistic" music in worship, although the operatic and theatrical style of singing from Italy made inroads to a certain degree among them. Controversy developed over the use of instruments in worship and whether or not instruments could be used for the glory of God. Self display on the part of singers brought forth considerable criticism from the worshipers.

Hymnody of the German Pietists

The most important and the most interesting contribution of the German Pietists was their hymns. Pietists of every rank and walk of life composed hymns, making the pietistic period the most productive in hymnody since the time of the Reformation, both in regard to texts and tunes. The following comments are gleaned from Daquin's translation of Nelle's opening paragraphs on pietistic hymnody.

1. No section in the history of hymnody is as interesting as that of Pietism.
2. The Pietists considered their poetry as having been given by the grace of God.
3. All poetry should brighten every aspect of the Christian life, according to the perspective of Pietism.
4. Never since Luther have hymns been so well received as in the age of Pietism.[1]

From 1675, when the title of "Pietist" was first applied, until 1697 when the second edition of the first authentic collection was published in Halle many new and noteworthy hymns were produced by the German Pietists. Nelle has made an interesting division in the development of the hymns of this group:

1. Springtime (1675-1700) - hymns were fresh and direct in their note of joy.
2. Summer (1700-1727) - the period of its highest blossom.
3. Autumn (1727-1750) - a time of "rinsing" and clarification.[2]

As might be expected, not all hymns of this period were of equal merit. What was true of the pietistic hymns in general was equally true of those from pietistic Germany. The Lutheran chorale was replaced by the trite, subjective, sentimental ditty; and the new hymn became a substitute for the polyphonic music of the choir. The following descriptive points regarding pietistic hymnody are selected from various authors mentioned in Daquin's study:

1. Emphasis on the individual.
2. The use of mystical language.
3. The painting of Biblical pictures.
4. Allegorical treatment in texts.
5. Hymns of considerable length (a hymn of Gottlieb Woltersdorff has 263 stanzas!).

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[1] Nelle, Wilhelm, Geschictle des deutchen evangelischen Kirchenlieds (Hamburg: Gustav Schloessmans Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1904), p. 150 ff., quoted by Daquin, p. 134.

[2] *Ibid*., p. 152.

6. Need for daily repentance.
7. Need for spiritual fellowship.
8. Very few hymns on the sacraments.
9. The love of Jesus and His atoning death.[3]

Philip Spener was one among the many authors of hymns in the early days of Pietism. He wrote nine texts himself and encouraged others in the writing of religious poetry. Laurentius Laurenti (d. 1722) was one of the best known of the period. Joachim Neander (d. 1680) was the first great poet of the German reformed church and became known as the "Paul Gerhardt of the Calvinists." His hymns on salvation and the love of Jesus were readily acceptable to the Pietists. A later author, Gerhard Tersteegen (d. 1769), is known for his hymns of mystical character which found popular use among the Pietists and those of the Reformed church.

Hymnals of the German Pietists

The center of activity of the Pietists was the city of Halle and the university located there. The first Halle hymnal was published in 1693 and contained several Latin hymns, a significant inclusion in light of the tenets of Pietism. The second edition appeared in 1697 which contained many new and original hymns by Pietists.

Johann A. Freylinghausen (1670-1739) colleague and son-in-law to Francke, was foremost among pietistic hymnists. Although he was severely criticized by the Orthodox group for his hymns of subjective piety, he was still ranked as the outstanding hymnist not only by the Pietists but also by his contemporaries in general. In 1704 he published the first edition of his hymnal, Geistreiches Gesangbuch, which contained 683 hymns and 173 melodies. In 1705 a second edition appeared, to be followed by several more in the ensuing years. This book, which became the standard hymnal of the Pietists, reached its eighteenth edition. The Neue Geistriches Gesangbuch of 1724 contained eighty-five hymns and 154 melodies. The two hymnals were combined into one volume in 1741 by Francke with a total of 1582 hymns and 600 melodies. Freylinghausen is purported to have been the author of forty-four hymns and the composer of many of the tunes.

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[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 135-139.

Concomitant to the spread of Pietism was the ever-increasing interest in its hymns and hymn composition. Centers for hymnody developed in Berlin, from whence came the "Porst"[4] hymnal which had great circulation, and in Coethen where authors stressed the "Wounds of the Lamb." Various aspects of Christian doctrine and instruction were set forth with special warnings against heresy and heretics. Some of the hymns used extremely sensuous language with the purpose to arouse the emotions of the singer. Ryden calls attention to one of the passion hymns of Woltersdorf "which dwells morbidly on every detail of the physical sufferings of Christ, and in another he borrows from Scheffler's figure which likens the soul to a bee deriving its sustenance from the crimson wounds of Christ."[5]

The Wurtemberg school typifies the best in pietistic hymnody. Its greatest exponent was Philip F. Hiller. His hymns bear the imprint of the influence of Johann Albrecht Bengel, his teacher at Denkendorf. Bengel's sound doctrinal views led to a healthy type of Pietism which was reflected in the hymns and other writings of such men as Hiller.

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[4] Ibid., pp. 151, 152 (A pietistic hymnal named for its publisher, Johann Porst, cited by Nelle, p. 166 ff.)

[5] E. E. Ryden, The Story of Christian Hymnody (Rock Island: Augustana Press, 1959), p. 125.

His hymns are churchly in character with a definite, sound Biblical language. A prolific writer, he produced approximately 1080 hymns of "scriptural and spiritual depth," many of which reflected the adversities and trials which he experienced during his lifetime. They exerted a strong influence on the Wurtemberg of his day and are still used rather extensively. Two popular collections of hymns by Hiller were the Little Paradise and the extremely popular Geistliches Liederkastlein (Casket of Spiritual Songs). The latter was taken by German emigrants to all parts of the world.

Hymns of the Moravian Brethren

Moravian hymnody reached its peak in the hymns of Count von Zinzendorf, who has to his credit in excess of 2000 hymns. We have seen in the preceding chapters how Spener and Francke both exerted strong influence on Zinzendorf. His hymns were extremely subjective and missionary in character. He wrote his first hymn in Halle at the age of twelve and his last in Herrnhut in 1760, the year of his death. His hymns were collected in 1845 in a three-volume work by Albert Knapp entitled Geistliche Gedichte des Grafen von Zinzendorf. This collected work contains 770 of his poems and in addition a biographical sketch of the Count by Knapp. Several other collections over a period of years contain varied numbers of Zinzendorf's hymns. Zinzendorf's place in German hymnody is summarized by Julian:

> The keynote of Zinzendorf's hymns, and of his religious character, was a deep and earnest personal devotion to and fellowship with the crucified Saviour. This is seen even in his worst pieces, where it is his perverted fervour that leads him into objectionable familiarity with sacred things both in thought and in expression. If his self-restraint had been equal to his imaginative

> and productive powers, he would have ranked as one of the greatest German hymnwriters.[6]

To Christian Gregor (d. 1801) goes much of the credit for the continued use of Zinzendorf's hymns because of his constant "pruning" of them. Himself a composer of note among the Moravians, he saw the worth of many of the hymns of Zinzendorf and sought earnestly to perpetuate their use by modifying some of their extravagant expression.

In passing, it is worth noting that the party of Orthodoxy produced some hymn writers of distinction. A chief representative of this more typically Lutheran group was Benjamin Schmolck (1672-1737). Though staying within the fold of "regular" Lutherans, Schmolck showed much sympathy toward the pietistic cause. He labored faithfully for thirty-five years under many restrictions by the Catholic Church in Silesia. His 1183 hymns reflect spiritual warmth, praise, and adoration and have earned him the place next to Paul Gerhardt in German Protestant hymnody.

Erdmann Neumeister (d. 1756) was one of the strongest opponents of Pietism. Although August Francke had influenced him greatly as a youth, he could see many dangers in the Pietist and Moravian teachings and practices and came out strongly against them. As pastor of St. James Church in Hamburg for forty-one years he became famous for his warm and tender hymns which numbered 650 in all. In addition to his well-esteemed hymns, he is famous as the originator of the Church Cantata.

Ryden evaluates the contribution of these two conservative Lutherans:

> While all the hymn-writers of Germany in the early part of the eighteenth century were more or less

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[6] John Julian, A Dictionary of Hymnology (London: John Murray, 1925), p. 1302.

> influenced by the pietistic movement, there were some who nevertheless refused to be carried away by the emotional extravagances of which some of the Halle song writers were often guilty. In the hymns of these more conservative psalmists we find a happy blending of objective teaching and a warm, personal faith that reminds us of the earlier hymns of Gerhardt.[7]

Early Pietistic Hymns in Sweden

As with a new movement of any kind, symptoms appear early which foreshadow the actual breaking forth into an organized activity. This was true in the case of pietism and its accompanying hymnody. Mention has already been made of the hymnody of Jasper Swedberg and of his being accused of pietistic leanings as reflected in his hymns. Likewise Jacob Arrhenius and Gustaf Ollon have been cited as early exponents of pietism by the flavor of their writings. Although he was professor of history at Uppsala, Arrhenius is remembered mainly as a song writer. In 1689 he produced his Psalm Proofs, with a second edition in 1691. He was a substantial contributor to Swedberg's Psalmbok. Lövgren has remarked that his paraphrases of David's Psalms contained in the 1695 book have the flavor of "old-Lutheran open confidence." His collection of "Jesus Songs" and the mysticism and even near-fanaticism of those of Ollon are an indication of the direction in which song writers were moving. (See Appendix A.)

Although Swedberg's Book was popular for many years, it stood out as being too orthodox against the new trends of expression in Pietism. It was severely criticized even by the pietists.

The first recognized pietistic song collection was the one known as Moses och Lamsens Wisor, (Songs of Moses and the Lamb), initiated by

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[7] Ryden, op. cit., p. 129.

George Lybecker (d. 1716), an officer in the State Mint, and completed in 1717 with sixty-one songs. It went through several editions until in 1727 it numbered 137 songs. In the 1724 edition a collection of similar size was added which was known as Osterlings Visor, since Carl Gustaf Osterling (d. 1732) was the publisher. In it were several translations from the German as well as some well-written Swedish originals. This second section bore a rather lengthy superscription:

> Evangelical and Teaching Songs: or Spiritual Songs
> Covering All Sunday Festivals and Holiday-Evangels,
> Which During the Entire Year are Useable[8]

These "Wisor" were "shot-through" with denunciations of the religious and social conditions of the era. Immoderate indulgences in food and drink and showy display were denounced, while sport and dance were completely ruled out. Songs pointed out the vanity of trusting in baptism and the communion for eternal salvation.

Conservative Pietism remained fairly tolerant in its attitude toward the State Church, while the radical Pietists stood firm in their opposition to it. This opposition no doubt was precipitated by the bigotry of the State Church leaders exhibited in their tirades against revival meetings and reform efforts. The radical Pietists produced their own songbook in Swedish around the year 1732 entitled, Andeliga Wysor om hwargenanda Materier (Spiritual Songs about Various Things). It contained translations from Tersteegen and was a bit more poetic than the earlier collection of "Wisor." The following is a free translation of one of the songs in the 1732 collection.

> The Lamb's virgins long have been quartered in a harlot-house
> Where they have fared most poorly
> And lost their strength and light.

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[8] Lövgren, op. cit., I, p. 178.

Long enough has the harlot ruled;
Long enough her will prevailed;
Long enough her shame we bore.
Good and bad were mixed together.[9]

The mystical introversion stands out sharply in many of the songs in Andeliga Wysor. The shortcoming of "unspiritual" people, the vanity of earthly existence and the longing for Jesus and heaven are themes which recur often in these songs.[10]

Songs of Swedish Herrnhutism

As a result of the missionary endeavors of Zinzendorf and his followers, Herrnhutism gained a stronghold, and converts were won over a period of years in Stockholm, Västergötland, and Skåne. The rich heritage of Moravian hymnody was seen in the number of people it inspired to write for its cause in Sweden. Song writers and collections appeared on the scene in the years which followed the introduction of Herrnhutism into the north country.

The first collection of Swedish Herrnhutism entitled Sions Sånger (Songs of Zion) was published in 1743 and contained 90 songs. The edition of 1745 contained 130, and subsequently 223 songs were included in the collection. Lövgren has made a detailed analysis of the growth of the Sions Sånger including the several authors who contributed to its contents. The edition of 1748 is to be found in the library of Uppsala University. A list of authors with short biographical notes on each is appended to the edition of 1767.

Concerning the contents, Lövgren points out that while the Lamsens Wisor contains many translations from the German Pietists the Herrnhut book has only thirteen such translations. Zinzendorf wrote six of these included, but his influence is readily noticeable is most of the rest. The most diligent of the contributors was Johan Kahl (1721-1746) who wrote fifty of the songs in the collection. Torsten Nyborg (1720-1792), whose missionary activities included ministries in Pennsylvania, England and Sweden, contributed a sizeable number of hymns as did Olof Kolmodin (1690-1753).

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[9] Ibid.

[10] Ibid.

The popularity of Sions Sånger is seen in the printing of 20,000 copies in the 1740's. Westin has cited their effectiveness in the whole Herrnhut movement in Sweden by his comment that "scattered groups of pious people were nourished by Sions Sånger . . ." and that in the revival movements in the 1840's, those who separated themselves from the church found great strength in the use of the same.[11] Lector Emil Liedgren in a radio lecture some years ago had this to say concerning the importance of this hymnal:

> In 1743 there appeared the Herrnhut song book "Sions Sånger" which became very important, thanks to its central Christian proclamation, its genuine folksiness and its gladsome straight forwardness. It initiated a quality, which has remained within the Swedish free-church movement and which, above all, has been preserved in the more nationally observed forms of revival religiosity movements of Rosenius' and Waldenstrom's color.[12]

Another volume of songs that was to captivate the free churches of Sweden was the Zions Nya Sånger issued in the 1780's and promoted by a convert of Herrnshutism, Anders Carl Rutström (1721-1772). Rutström studied at the University of Uppsala but was in poor standing with teachers and fellow students alike. In all probability the hostility to him was produced by his harsh disposition and undisciplined living. In 1748, after rather extensive contact with the Moravians, he was converted and joined their ranks. He became one of their greatest preachers and was considered by some to be the greatest in Stockholm. Although he was readily accepted as a preacher, in time he incurred the ill will of the pastors by his strange doctrines and his attacks on the State Church. He suffered banishment to Hamburg from 1761 to 1770 when he was permitted to return to Sweden but not allowed to preach. He died in 1772.

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[11] Westin et. al., De Fikyrkliga Samfunden . . ., pp. 23, 25.

[12] Translated from the Standaret of June 26, 1934.

According to Lövgren, during the 1740's many Herrnhut songs of a reasonable character were in use but during the decades following those of the more fanatical kind appeared in great numbers, only to come into disuse later in the period.[13]

The first edition of the New Songs of Zion was printed in Copenhagen in 1778 and smuggled into Sweden. (At this time in Sweden every manuscript of any kind had to be censored thoroughly before it could be printed.) In the first two editions the authors' names were not indicated. In the edition of 1821, ninety-two of the songs were credited to Rutström. The book grew in popularity and the last edition was published in 1923. It became known as the official hymnbook "Bibeltrogna Vänner" (Bible-True Friends). Oscar Ahnfelt was responsible for a renascence of the hymnal by his including many hymns from it in his own collection. (Ahnfelt and his place in free-church hymnody will be discussed later.)

One of the best known hymns of Rutström is "lammets folk och Sions fränder" translated "Chosen Seed and Zion's Children."

Chosen seed and Zion's children,
Ransomed from eternal wrath,
Traveling to the heav'nly Canaan
On a rough and thorny path;

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[13] Op. cit., I, p. 204.

Church of God, in Christ elected,
Thou to God art reconciled,
But on earth Thou art a stranger
Persecuted and reviled.

A comparison by Liedgren between the two Zions Sånger is here quoted from the Standaret article:

> The first collection of Zions Sånger is regarded, as from the viewpoint of lyric and art, to rate higher than the collection of "Zions nya sånger" which was issued in the 1780's. Nevertheless this one was accorded no small significance, perhaps on account of its foremost contributor, A. K. Rutström. This song book was the first of its kind, which commended itself to the public by calling attention to the personal name of an individual. For Rutström's name was given on the title page. Perhaps its success accounted for the fact, that when "Andeliga wisjor i hwargehanda materier" came forth in its new edition it was expressly stated that it was Tolstadius' song book. Both of these authors were accorded extraordinary respect and a high reputation for piety and robust faith. Rutström's death in prison surely contributed in no small measure to the distribution of his songs--naturally in connection with their folksy characteristics. Rutström was a combination of roughness and emotionalism, a trait that admittedly commends itself to a Swede. He loved the concret and the drastic:
>
> "You swim in your blood,
> In anguish you pray:
> You lie on the ground with your face in the dust,"
>
> to quote from one of his most well known songs. That which, however, surely was most prized was the warmth in Rutström's songs . . . His song book was the first to become of really permanent and evident importance to the subsequent Free-church song tradition.[14]

Another contributor to Nya sånger was Magnus B. Malmstedt (1724-1798), also a convert to Herrnhutism. He was educated at Karlstad, Uppsala, and Lund where he was appointed professor of Latin. He became popular as a teacher and preacher, but because of his connection with the Herrnhut group he was dismissed from his teaching position and forbidden to do even private teaching. After a series of dismissals and reinstatements his case was settled in his favor, but with no lifting of previous restrictions concerning his religious activities. In manuscript form in Uppsala is a collected volume, "Evangelical Songs of Zion," in which are ninety selections by Malmstedt. He is purported to have written about 600 songs, many of which appeared in Nya Sånger. His style and content may be seen from a free translation of a verse he added to a song by Abraham Falk.

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[14] Op. cit.

> Jesus was now made the world's reconciler,
> He on His heart every sinner did bear,
> When on His cross between heav'n and the earth,
> For our redemption he offered Himself.
> He for our sins doth contend and do battle,
> Pours out His blood in the deepest distress;
> Himself the Judge for the prisoners suffers;
> God would us save, He would not will our death.[15]

An interesting comparison between the Psalmbok and the collections of the radical Pietists and Herrnhutists has been made by Lövgren:

> It was said that the Swedish "Psalmbok" of 1695 was prompted to a great extent by the Psalms of David, while the songbooks published by the radical Pietists and Herrnhutists were in no small degree filled with sentiments characteristic of Solomon's Song. The early collections of songs by the Swedish Pietists in spirit reminds one of the Old Testament Prophets. A comprehensive Bible knowledge has, however, greatly affected the presentation.[16]

Another hymn writer of note who spoke out sharply against emotionalism and denounced Herrnhutism was Lars Linderot (1761-1811). He was a revivalist himself and carried on a ministry on the west coast of Sweden. His songs, for the most part, are very serious in content and have been included in many hymnals of the evangelicals in Småland and Värmland. One of the hymns of Linderot was a favorite of the legalists.

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[15] Lövgren, op. cit., I, p. 235.

[16] Ibid., p. 171.

No one attains to the heavenly rest
Who does not press for the guerdon;
The soul must fight for the faith of the blest
Bearing the warrior's burden.
That way is narrow and the door is strait,
Only sober faith can open heaven's gate.
Hence we must press, yea press for the prize
Or Heaven is lost forever.[17]

Psalmbooks of the Late Eighteenth Century in Sweden

By the middle of the 18th century there arose considerable criticism against the Gamla Psalmboken (Swedberg's) because of its faulty language, poor poetry, lack of categories, trite melodies, etc. In the year 1765 a Prof-Psalmboken was published in Stockholm on the command of "His Majesty the King." In the foreword to the hymnal it is mentioned that the committee was intent that the hymns contained therein should be to the edification of those who use them and in the best interests of Orthodoxy. Purity of the Swedish language was diligently striven after in proper and decent expression. The following quotation from the introductory statement explains the contents and declares the purpose of this book:

> In this collection certain Psalms under certain topics are still missing; as for instance certain virtues and certain vices; which should have been included in the first main division: concerning especially Evil Angels, and the war against them which is required. Regarding the temptations of Christ; His miracles; in common and their usefulness; His intercessory work, etc., which ought to have been dealt with in the second main division. But if such failures be remedied in the future by more efficient pens, the Committee promises that whatever comes in, will be added as an appendix when the next collection is published.
>
> Finally, and since the purpose of this project, next to the glory of the great God, is that our Swedish Church may have a comprehensive, more suitable and for the future more serviceable Psalm Book, those of the Committee, with due consideration, will take up the well

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[17] Olsson, By One Spirit, p. 66.

> grounded reminders on matters that can be submitted, by which their attempts can be helped all the more and be improved. And they will especially appreciate, if, besides the remarks about the items that need correction, specific suggestions for a happy change be communicated. Stockholm, the 23rd April, 1765.[18]

A second edition was published in 1767 which added 308 hymns to the 177 in the first edition. The aim of this second edition was to please both the orthodox churchman as well as the Pietist. The foreword to the second edition states the purpose for the inclusion of certain types of songs:

> Psalms which only under peculiar circumstances could be sung publicly in church are placed under the caption HUSTAFLAN; which has afforded the committee occasion to find room under the same title for some psalms which otherwise pertain only to use by individuals, certain classes, or particular persons in different spiritual or physical circumstances. For the committee has purposed thus to promote in part godly family devotions, and in part see to it that there were psalms suitable for those who prepare to take in the Lord's Holy Supper and examine the condition of their own soul for the occasion.[19]

A detailed listing of the contents of this hymnbook appears in Appendix B.

Several private "Psalmbooks" were published because of the slowness of a central committee to initiate further revisions in the hymnody of the church. In 1796 two such collections were published: Psalmer by Kristoffer Dahl and Samuel Ödman's Försök till Kyrkosånger. An attempt to improve existing psalmody was made with the publication of Omarbetning af svenska psalmer, försökt, by Michael Choreus and Johan Olof Wallin in 1807. It is generally believed that the hymns in this collection did not represent any great improvement.

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[18] Then Svenska Prof-Psalmboken, (Stockholm: Lorens Ludwig Grefing). Foreword to the First Edition, 1765.

[19] Ibid., Foreword to the Second Edition, 1767.

The Psalmbok of 1819

Next to the Swedberg hymnal of 1695, the book revised and edited for the whole of Sweden by J. O. Wallin stands at the most influential of all the publications of the 19th century. Wallin was born in Stora Tuna in 1779 and early in life displayed his unusual endowment as a poet. In 1805 and 1809 he was awarded the prize for poetry at the University at Uppsala. His popularity as a preacher and pastor led him to Stockholm and ultimately to the archbishopric of Uppsala.

In 1811 Archbishop Lindblom appointed a committee to undertake the preparation of a new hymnal. The Uppsala "Professors' Hymnal" had appeared in 1793 but was rationalistic in tone and reflected the neology of the day. The new book was issued in 1816 and after some degree of alteration was published officially in 1819. Known as _Den Svenska Psalmboken, af Konungen gillad och stadfästad_ (The Swedish hymn-book approved and confirmed by the king), it was mainly the work of Wallin, who had dreamed of a new hymnal years before. Among the 500 selections in the book are 130 hymns in addition to 150 translations by Wallin.

Even though Wallin himself was strictly a State churchman, his hymns have found their place among the free-church group. In the foreword to the 1816 proposal of the book Wallin expressed his own ideas as to the purpose and use of a hymnal:

> A well arranged psalmbook ought, according to my understanding, to be in all respects, everybody's possession and everybody's refuge.[20]

The book is still held in high esteem by the Swedish people, and many of the hymns of Wallin found their way into the free-church hymnals. The use of the hymnal eventually was made compulsory in the church of

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[20] Olsson, _op. cit._, p. 55.

Sweden.[21] The hymnal went through several revisions until 1921 when a section entitled, Nya Psalmer, was added, making a total of 673 hymns. A more complete analysis of Wallin's hymnal is to be found in Appendix C; suffice it to say here that hymns covering every aspect of Christian life and doctrine are to be found within its covers.

Concerning the influence of the 1819 Psalmbok Ryden has this to say:

> The profound influence which Wallin's hymns have exerted over the Swedish language and its literature for more than a century is eloquent testimony not only to his poetic genius, but also to the faithfulness with which he adhered to the high standards he had imposed on himself.[22]

Although Wallin had the greatest share in the preparation of the new Psalmbok he had several other Swedish poets who collaborated with him. Foremost among these were F. M. Franzen (1772-1847), Johan Åström (1767-1844), L. Ödman (1750-1829), S. J. Hedbörn (1783-1849) and G. J. Adlerbeth (d. 1818). Franzen worked the closest to Wallin in the selection and compilation of the large number of the compositions which make up this memorable volume. Born in Finland of Swedish parents, he became professor at the University of Åbo and later accepted the call to a pastorate in Sweden. It was during this time when he served the church at Kumla that he wrote most of his finest hymns. He became a famous preacher and subsequently assumed the pulpit in St. Clara church in Stockholm. This appointment was a stepping stone to his becoming Bishop of Harnösland when he was sixty-two years of age. In 1812 at the outset of his ministry in Sweden he became closely associated with

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[21] Latourette, Nineteenth Century . . . p. 169.

[22] Ryden, op. cit., p. 176.

Wallin in the preparation of the hymnal. The collection contained twenty-nine hymns from his pen on a variety of subjects including immortality, philosophy, advent, evening, communion, children's hymns and missions. He ranks among the great hymnists of the north country and has continued to be a favorite of Christians in several groups.

Hedbörn is represented in the 1819 "Book" with hymns of devotion, Epiphany, and communion. Åström, a parish priest and poet of unusual ability, contributed no less than eighteen songs, some of which have a tinge of rationalism in them. His hymn for All Saints Day is a revision of Laurentii Laurinus' written in 1620.

As has been previously indicated Den Nya Svenska Psalmboken became very popular, but in areas like Norrland and Småland opposition developed because of the prevalence of neologian religious thought. A revision undertaken by Johan Henrik Thomander (1789-1865) and Peter Weselgren (1800-1877) was completed in 1849. The intention of these two men was to make the texts more acceptable to the Orthodox group, which necessitated the elimination of some of the early hymns by Wallin himself. Further revision was discussed in 1868; in 1889 a new proposal was rejected, and a later revision of 1896 was turned down by the Kyrkämotet. Several proposals were then made by private individuals until the 1921 revision when the king decreed that it be continued as the official hymnal for the State Church of Sweden.

Peter H. Syreen (1776-1838) pursued a rather varied career both in his educational and vocational experience. He received his formal education at Vaxjo and Uppsala and served as teacher, preacher, writer and bookstore proprietor in his early years. He issued many books but is known for the most part for his collection of 500 songs entitled

Christelige Sångbok till bruk vid Enskil husandakt (Christian Songbook for use in Separate House Worship) published completely in 1826. This hymnal was the result of promptings by Syreen's friends and close associates for a new means of expression of their faith. The first part was issued in 1823 as a trial venture; its success brought about the completion of the entire collection.

The songs in the Syreen book were taken mainly from old Herrnhut and pietistic songbooks; in addition, Syreen included several of his own authorship. Popular songs from Moses och Lamsens Wisor, Sions Sånger and several by Lars Linderot were among those selected. Because the book had a pietistic flavor it became popular among the Pietists, especially in southern Sweden. It is represented by three songs in the Nya Psalmer supplement of the Wallin book of 1921.

The following topical headings in this hymnal give an indication of the scope of its contents:

Our Present Christendom

The Awakened Sinner's Complaint and Hope

Loving Warning, Advise and Encouragement For God's Children

Some Christian Duties

During Spiritual Distress, Temptations and Troubles

The Plaint of the Saints, Encouragements and Hope

Privileges and Benefits For True Christians

Songs for Festive Occasions

Seasonal Songs and Special Times of Day

On Evangelical Texts

The Vanity of the World and Times, Concern for a Correct Preparation for the Incorruptible Life of Eternity

The Victory of Zion, the Fall of Baylon

The following stanzas selected from one of the hymns are a sample of the general style of the hymnal:

Our life is very brief; Our lifetime runs away
Before we comprehend it. We hardly start our life
Until in death it's ended. No plaint will help us here;
Our life is very brief. Our lifetime runs away.

Behold, eternity, There stands with certainty
At end of time before us, Where doom and wage we get
For all we here are doing. My soul, give heed to this:
For us eternity, is certainly a-coming.

C. O. Rosenius and the Hymns in Pietisten

Carol Olav Rosenius is considered today to have been the foremost lay-preacher in Sweden. He was the son of a pastor of Upper Norrland who was a friend of the "läsare" (readers). From the time of his birth on February 3, 1816, he was dedicated by his parents to the ministry of the church, and they lived to see this desire fulfilled. Early in life he showed a bent toward the preaching ministry by gathering a few of his "awakened" friends around him and preaching to them. Permission for such gatherings was granted by Franzen who was presiding bishop at the time. This was his first field of activity in the city of Piteå.

Rosenius pursued studies for a time at Uppsala but ill health, the low moral standards at the university, poverty, disgust, and university life in general were cause for interrupting his term of study. For a time his own religious beliefs were severely shaken. Just at this time he met the Methodist preacher, George Scott, with whom he eventually became associated as has already been mentioned in Chapter Two. This association led to his assuming the editorship of Pietisten, which journal did much for the cause of pietism in all of Scandinavia. In his relatively brief life which ended in 1874, he engaged in many and varied labors within the church which resulted in the strengthening of the free church in the entire north country.

Our interest in Rosenius centers in one aspect of his church activities, his prose and poetic writings. In both Rosenius and his wife, Agatha, there was a poetic vein. In Carl Olav this appeared quite early, although for him his greatest ability lay in his writing of prose. During the course of the years, however, he contributed many hymns through the Christian monthly, Pietisten, some of which were translations and revisions. He has even been accused of plagiarism in some instances. His poetry does not always flow easily but its intensive Gospel proclamation caused it to become extremely popular and widely used among the Pietists in all of Scandinavia.

Although not a separatist himself, Rosenius was significantly influenced by Moravianism. He was an ardent admirer of Rutström and tried in the pages of Pietisten "to nourish the Rutström tradition" by frequently including many of Rutström's hymns for the spiritual enrichment of his readers.[23] Olsson sheds further light on this aspect of his relationship to the Moravians:

> The Rosenian conventicle also contributed to the development of a revival hymnody. The impact of Moravian piety on the Rosenian revival appears nowhere more clearly than in the hymns which were sung and created by the circle around Rosenius. In addition to the hymns from the Psalmbok, the Rosenius conventicles used hymns from the Songs of Zion and the New Songs of Zion. Because many of the hymns in the latter book were by Rutström, or were attributed to him, it became common practice to speak of the collection as "Rutström's songs."[24]

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[23] Standaret, op. cit.

[24] Olsson, op. cit., pp. 55, 56.

During the Rosenian revival, interest in the foreign missionary program was high. This, coupled with revival enthusiasm, resulted in a growing dissatisfaction with the Wallin Psalmbok. The "läsare" in Norrland refused to use it almost entirely. Rosenius tried to show himself sympathetic toward their aversion to the Psalmbok. In his correspondence with them he called to their attention the revised book of Thomander and Wieselgren which was soon to be published. Rosenius' evaluation of the new book is explained further by Lövgren:

> Those of our most noted Doctors of Theology have therefore undertaken a cleansing in the New "Psalmbok" by eliminating what is most offensive to evangelical truth. Their new "psalmbok" is soon to be published. It is thus from high church sources publicly admitted that things are not well with the New "Psalmbok" [Wallin's evidently is meant]. And how could it be, when to a great extent it is authored by unregenerated teachers and geniuses? She is an offspring of the outwardly mixed church and resembles her as any daughter is like her mother.[25]

When the new book was published in 1849 it was substituted for Wallin's in many circles. In the Fosterlandsstiftelsen report of 1875 it was mentioned that already 9,000 copies had been printed. Wallin's Psalmbok was still held in high regard by many while they still admitted that it contained all too many controversial expressions and did not furnish enough hymns of missionary emphasis. Even the revision, it was felt, did not contribute enough to the revivalistic spirit which was abroad in those days. Soon a whole chain of songbooks of the revival type began to be produced "more in line with the spirit and needs incident to revival."[26]

The hymns of Rosenius cover a wide variety of subjects. This is also true of his revisions, translations, and those which were more or less "plagiarized." In many cases no credit is given. The sample lines of Rosenius' poetry have been gleaned from issues of Pietisten, Lövgren and the Standaret.

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[25] Op. cit., II, p. 337.

[26] Ibid.

One of the most widely-known and used of the Rosenius hymns is the one on Christian brotherhood with the beginning line "Med Gud och hans vänskap hans Ande och ord" (With God and His Friendship, His Spirit and Word). It has appeared in many of the hymnals of Scandinavia, in particular the second section of Nya Psalmer, (No. 594) of the Wallin collection. The following is a translation by C. R. Osbeck of the first and last stanzas as they appear in most English hymnals.

With God and His Friendship, His Spirit and Word,
With brethren partaking the bread of our Lord,
With courage and joy we will meet coming days;
The Shepherd is with us, the Shepherd is with us,
The dear, loving Shepherd, He guides all our ways.

O Jesus! be with us, abide with us still,
And care for us, bear us, and teach us Thy will.
Thy glory, O Jesus, Thou'lt soon let us see:
Praise glory and honour, Praise glory and honour,
Praise, glory and honour, our Saviour, to Thee.[27]

Lövgren maintains that this hymn by Rosenius is built on the Moravian hymn "O selige Stunden," which he assumes also inspired Clara Ahnfelt's "Ack saliga Stunder."[28] He also points out that in another hymn ascribed to Rosenius the first two stanzas are his but the last three are from a collection of Moravian hymns of 1806.

A common practice of Rosenius was to make drastic changes in the poems he used in Pietisten, for instance, in the addition of stanzas as would suit his purpose. A case in point concerns a hymn, originally by the Baptist Gustaf Palmquist, "Jag har en vän, så huld, så mild, så tålig (I Have a Friend, So Helpful, Mild and Patient). Lövgren contends that Rosenius altered the song, but to what extent it is not known. It appears in many books with credit given only to Rosenius. Such is the case with "En vän framför andra, min Frälsare huld" (A Friend Above Others, My Savior and Lord).

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[27] The Gospel Hymnal (Chicago: Baptist Conference Press, 1950), No. 5.

[28] Op. cit., II, p. 349.

In 1849 a thirty-four stanza composition by a government official was printed in Pietisten. Revised and abbreviated from a longer composition, it speaks of the blessedness and election of the Christian. A translated excerpt from the song gives an idea of the general thought throughout:

Deep was its fall to unspeakable fate
Which scarred the whole gamut of nature;
Dire was its curse, everlasting its death,
Our wretched and lost generation!
God's judgment was changeless-
    despairing we lay
In bondage eternal; we only could hear
The taunts of the damned in their prison.

The pietistic flavor, which is found in so many of the hymns with which Rosenius had to do, is seen in these few lines which appeared in Pietisten in 1854.

Dare thyself without fear,
Trust that Jesus did all for thee,
He for thee hath victory won,
Crushed the serpent who was mighty,
Opened us heaven's gate
Dare thyself, without fear.

A hymn which is found in many of the Swedish hymnals presents the figure of the "Good Shepherd." It appeared in Pietisten in June of 1847 with no indication of its authorship. In the hymnals stanzas from Herrnhutian sources are indicated as well as those contributed by

Rosenius. This couplet gives us an idea of the thrust of its message.

> As I go in forest, mount or valley,
> Follows me a Friend, I hear his voice.

Although the songs of Rosenius, exemplified by those appearing in Pietisten, did not reach the literary level of those found in Wallin's hymnal of 1819, they did have a strong appeal to those of pietistic leanings. The writer has continually read of Rosenius' songs which became favorites among the evangelicals of his day and succeeding generations.

Other Contributors to Pietistic Song

The nineteenth century revival period witnessed the rise of many women hymnists. Charlotte Elliot and Frances Ridley Havergal were popular in England; American hymnody was enriched by the poems of Fanny Crosby and Sweden received many songs from Lina Sandell.[29]

Lina Sandell became prominent as a song writer in the midst of the extensive ministry of C. O. Rosenius. Born into a Lutheran pastor's home in 1832, she was the typical frail child who preferred to stay within the shelter of the home rather than engage in childhood play activities. Tragedy came into her life in the drowning of her father which she witnessed from the deck of the boat on a journey to Gothenburg. One of her earliest hymns "Herre ferdöljej ditt anskte för mig" (Hide not Thy face for me dear Lord and Saviour) was written during her sorrow in the loss of her father, "a song that was to be immortalized, together with its plaintive Finnish melody, in Dr. F. M. Christiansen's 'Lost in the Night'."[30] Also in the year of her father's death, 1868, she contributed fourteen of her poems anonymously in a Christian journal published by Fosterlandsstiftelsen, *Budbärarer*. These early hymns have remained among the favorites of the Swedish people even though she wrote some 650 more in the coming years. The following is a translation of what is perhaps the favorite among all of her songs, "Trygare kan ingen vara."

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[29] Ryden, op. cit., p. 176.

[30] James P. Davies, Sing with Understanding (Chicago: Covenant Press, 1966), p. 80.

Children of the heavenly Father
Safely in His bosom gather;
Nestling bird nor star in heaven,
Such a refuge e'er was given.

God His own doth tend and nourish,
In His holy courts they flourish,
From all evil things he spares them,
In His mighty arms He bears them.

Neither life nor death shall ever
From the Lord His children sever;
Unto them His grace He showeth,
And their sorrows all He knoweth.

Though He giveth or He taketh,
God His children ne'er forsaketh,
His the loving purpose solely
To preserve them pure and holy.

Lina Sandell's hymns will be discussed in a later chapter in their relationship to the entire field of Christian hymnody; in passing it is worth noting that as a hymn writer she ranks among the highest in the percentage of her hymns to be found in the major Swedish free-church hymnals. The hymn quoted above has been included in hymnals of many American denominations of non-Swedish background, the latest of which is the new Methodist hymnal.

Another woman hymn writer of note is Elizabeth Ehrenborg-Posse, who also lived during the time of the Rosenius revivals. Born into Swedish aristocracy in 1818, she came under the influence of Rosenius and the Pietists. She had a particular interest in working with young children, and from the small group of youngsters which she invited into her home on Sunday in 1851, the work progressed to the point where larger quarters were necessary. This activity earned for "Betty" Ehrenborg the credit of having started the Sunday school movement in Sweden. After a sojourn in England where she studied the Sunday school movement, she returned to Stockholm and began work in the Kungsholm district. New teachers were recruited and trained and the work progressed. In 1856 she was married to Baron J. A. Posse, who was himself an enthusiastic supporter of Sunday school work.

While in England Mrs. Posse became interested in the numerous children's hymns, some of which she translated into her native tongue. William Cowper's "There Is a Fountain" was translated and adapted for children's use by her. Her most famous hymn is the well-loved Swedish Christmas Carol "När juldag's morgon glimmar" (When Christmas Morn Is Dawning). This hymn was examined in two different hymnals where she is listed as a co-author and arranger, respectively. Ryden suggests that there may have been a "German antecedent" but seems to be willing to give her full credit for the authorship. Among her many translations are two well known hymns from the English, "Just As I Am" by Charlotte Elliott and "Rock of Ages" by Augustus Toplady, both of whom were British hymnists. Mrs. Posse is well-represented in modern hymnals of Scandinavia by many of her translations and original lyrics. She died in 1880.

One person above all others who helped to get the songs of Swedish Pietism into the religious circles of Scandinavia was Oscar Ahnfelt (1813-1882). Born into a moderately pietistic family, he intended to enter the ministry of the State Church. After some time in study at the

Univerity of Lund he returned home to devote himself to his musical interests. He had come to Stockholm to begin serious study in music and while there he came under the preaching of a pietistic minister. Additional contact with Rosenius resulted in a spiritual crisis for Ahnfelt whereupon the two became close friends and co-workers.

Ahnfelt's initial ministry was in the field of music, but Rosenius was desirous of using him as a lay preacher. His combination of talents in music, composing, and preaching put him in great demand throughout Sweden. His greatest contribution was in musical composition in supplying new songs for the conventicles. Heretofore mostly Moravian hymns had been used. He set his own lyrics to music, even though many of them were sub-standard, and also provided musical settings for the poems of other authors.

At first his songs were transmitted orally. The great Swedish singer, Jenny Lind, not only sang them but in addition, by a generous monetary contribution she helped Ahnfelt begin publication. The first book was published in 1850 containing twelve selections. It bore the title Andeliga Sånger / med accompagnement af / Pianoforte eller Guitarre / componerade / samt / demaissle / Jenny Linde/. Up until 1877 eleven similar pamphlets were published with a total of approximately 200 compositions. No lyrics were by Ahnfelt, probably only some revisions, and his melodies were the most part adaptations of folk tunes. The book contained hymns by Lina Sandell, Rosenius, and others which earlier had been published in Pietisten. Ahnfelt himself is well-represented in scores of hymnals by his melodies which have become favorites among Scandinavians.

It is of interest to note that Jenny Lind thought of herself as a Pietist and frequently visited the conventicles. Rosenius considered her to be one of the "läsare." She is supposed to have gained great spiritual enjoyment from the preaching of Rosenius and the music of Ahnfelt.

Lina Sandell gives Ahnfelt the credit for her success as a hymn writer. Not only did he provide many melodies for her songs but also he sang them as he traveled throughout Scandinavia. Said Mrs. Sandell, "Ahnfelt has sung my songs into the hearts of the people."[31] He is represented in the latest Baptist hymnal of Sweden by thirteen entries of his melodies.

Among the circle of the "awakened" in Stockholm in which he moved, Ahnfelt met Clara Strömberg. She had received spiritual release through the preaching of Rosenius and became active within the company of his followers. In the summer of 1851 she and Ahnfelt were married. Clara Ahnfelt wrote several songs, some of which are still to be found in recent compilations particularly in Sweden.

Pietistic Song in Denmark

Just as the hymns of Swedish Pietism had their roots, to some degree at least, in the hymns of Swedberg, Arrhenius and Ollon, so the hymns of Denmark in this period were foreshadowed in the hymns of Thomas Kingo (1634-1703), the first of the great Danish hymnwriters. He was born at a time of spiritual and cultural lag in the history of Denmark and was destined to contribute spiritually and culturally to the life of his native land.

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[31] Ryden, op. cit., p. 190.

A depression which followed the Thirty Years' War threatened the very life of Denmark. Kingo's home felt the trying period in full measure. Aaberg describes the conditions:

> The country's unsuccessful participation in the Thirty Years' War had brought on a depression that threatened its very existence as a nation; and a terrible pestilence followed by new wars increased and prolonged the general misery, making the years of Kingo's childhood and youth one of the darkest periods in Danish history.
>
> But although these conditions brought sorrow and ruin to thousands, even among the wealthy, the humble home of the Kingo's somehow managed to survive. Beneath its roof industry and frugality worked hand in hand with piety and mutual love to brave the storms that wrecked so many and apparently far stronger establishments. Kingo always speaks with the greatest respect and gratitude of his "poor but honest parents." In a poetic description of his childhood years he vividly recalls their indulgent kindness to him.
>
> "I took my pilgrim staff in hand
> Ere I attempted talking;
> I had scarce left my swaddling-band
> Before they set me walking.
> They coached me onward with a smile
> And suited me when tearful.
> One step was farther than a mile,
> For I was small and fearful."[32]

Kingo's education included study in the city of Hiller, where he began his study of Danish literature, and the University of Copenhagen where he delved into theology. Through his preceptor at the University, Professor Bartholin, Kingo came under the influence of the Pietist movement in a rather second hand way, but it was effective. Years before, Bartholin had come under the tutelage of Holger Rosenkrans, a close friend of John Arndt, the German Pietist. The result for Kingo was that he strongly favored the "Arndt-Rosenkrans view of Christianity."

Following the years of struggle between Denmark and Sweden, Kingo was ordained in the Church of Our Lady in Copenhagen in September, 1661.

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[32] Aaberg, op. cit., p. 23.

His next pastorate after seven years was in his home city and church in Slangemp. About this time he really began to attract attention by his poetry. He had already begun to re-edit the Danish Psalmbog, which, as has been mentioned, had gone through three editions. His own small volume entitled Spiritual Songs, Part One appeared in 1673, containing fifteen morning and evening hymns. The book was received with great enthusiasm, and the hymns were sung throughout Denmark. In the following years they were translated into several languages. His elevation to the archbishopric of Fyen in 1677 is credited to the impression his hymns made on the Danish church and nation.

The first volume of Spiritual Songs was dedicated and addressed to King Christian V, and the second part published in 1684 was dedicated to the Danish queen, Charlotee Amalia. It contained twenty hymns and seventeen "sighs." The themes set forth in the second volume are penitence, repentance, and faith and seem to reflect the poet's own spiritual struggles and victories.

By this time Kingo was at the pinnacle of his fame as the Danish people realized that a man of great stature and ability was in their midst. In 1679 he was honored by being made a member of the nobility, and in 1682 he was awarded the honorary degree, Doctor of Theology. In 1683 came the appointment to edit a new hymnal for the people of Denmark and Norway. Thomisson's hymnal of 1569 had served the church for well over 100 years but changing language and literary taste necessitated something new. Thus the king honored Kingo by assigning him to this task of great magnitude. The instructions concerning the preparation of the hymnal are summarized by Aaberg:

> The carefully prepared instructions of his commission directed him to eliminate undesirable hymns; to revise antiquated rhymes and expressions; to adopt at least two new hymns by himself or another for every pericope and epistle of the church year, but under no circumstances to make any changes in Luther's hymns that would alter their meaning.[33]

When the first draft of the new hymnal reached the king six years later it was obvious that Kingo had completely ignored the instructions. Included were 267 hymns of which 137 were his own. His treatment of the "old" hymns aroused a storm of protest, in that some of them were hardly recognizable. Although the king had already approved the proposed hymnbook, he revoked his action and appointed a commission to supervise continued work. Kingo was humiliated, crushed, and financially disabled by the king's action. In addition to his work on the hymnal he had personally invested his funds in a printing press and materials for its publication.

Soren Janasson, provost at the Cathedral of Roskilde, was appointed by the king to undertake the work from which Kingo had been dismissed, and in 1693 the book was finished. It did not contain one of Kingo's hymns! Although the hymnal was of high calibre, the king realized that the omission of Kingo's hymns was the work of his enemies, and such an act of contempt on their part would never pass unnoticed by the Danish people. Again a committee was appointed to prepare a hymnal that would duly recognize the work of Kingo. He was consulted by the committee on the many aspects of publication and was asked to write new hymns to complete the desired numbers. The new hymnal was ready in 1699. It contained 297 hymns, including eighty-five by Kingo, and was well-received by the church. Although he did not fully recover from the indignity which he had suffered, he did live to see his efforts finally crowned with success. The title page of the hymnal is a tribute to the labor of Denmark's great poet:

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[33] *Ibid*., p. 41.

> The authorized new Church hymn-book, suitably adapted from old spiritual songs and carefully revised, and enriched with many new hymns, according to his Majesty's most gracious command, by the principal clergy in Copenhagen, for the service of God on Sundays, festivals, prayer-days, and for other godly uses in the Church in Denmark and Norway, and in like manner according to the royal command prepared for the press by Thomas Kingo, Bishop in the Diocese of Funen.[34]

The hymns of Kingo cover a variety of subjects. Aaberg has divided them into the following categories: Festival Hymns, Sacramental Hymns, Historical Hymns and Hymns on the Gospels and Epistles. He is known as the "Easter Poet" of Denmark, mainly because of one Easter hymn, although the Easter theme is the subject for many hymns written by him. Two stanzas are included here, which are typical of the entire five-stanza hymn.

Like the golden sun ascending
In the darkly clouded sky
And on earth its glory spending
Until clouds and darkness fly,
So my Jesus from the grave,
From death's dark, abysmal cave,
Rose triumphant Easter morning,
Brighter than the sun returning.

Thou wilt hence to life awake me
By Thy resurrection power;
Death may wound and overtake me,
Worms my flesh and bones devour,
But I face the threat of death
With the sure and joyful faith
That its fearful reign was ended
When Thy might its portal rended.

Kingo's place in Danish hymnology is enunciated clearly by Aaberg. On the strength of his remarks and because of the pietistic influence of Bartholion on Kingo the writer has felt justified in including Kingo at least as a forerunner of the pietistic hymnists of Denmark. Aaberg comments as follows concerning the thrust of Kingo's hymns:

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[34] Julian, op. cit., p. 1001.

> Kingo is often called the singer of orthodoxy. His hymns faithfully present the accepted doctrines of his church. No hymnwriter is more staunchly Lutheran than he. But he was too vital to become a mere doctrinaire. With him orthodoxy was only a means to an end, a more vigorous Christian life. Many of his hymns present a forceful and straightforward appeal for a real personal life with God. The following hymn may be called an orthodox revival hymn. It was a favorite with the great Norwegian lay preacher, Hans Nielsen Hauge.
>
> The power of sin no longer
> Within my heart shall reign;
> Faith must grow ever stronger
> And carnal lust be slain;
> For when I was baptized,
> The bonds of sin were severed
> And I by grace delivered
> To live for Jesus Christ.
>
> Would I accept the merit
> Of my baptismal grace
> And with my faith and spirit
> The Savior's cross embrace,
> How great would be my blame
> Should I abide in evil
> And not renounce the devil
> In Christ my Savior's name.
>
> It can bestow no treasure
> On me that Christ arose.
> If I will not with pleasure
> The power of death oppose,
> And with my heart embrace
> The Savior, who is risen
> And has from error's prison
> Redeemed me by His grace.
>
> Lord Jesus, help me ever
> To fight "the old man" so
> That he shall not deliver
> Me to eternal woe,
> But that I here may die
> From sin and all offences
> And, by the blood that cleanses,

Attain my home on high.[35]

The warmth and earnest Christian spirit in Kingo's hymns have earned for them a place of permanent value in the hymnody of the Christian congregation. Ryden concludes his chapter on the great poet with the tribute by Grundtvig:

> "He effected a combination of sublimity and simplicity, a union of splendor and fervent devotion, a powerful and musical play of words and imagery that reminds one of Shakespeare."
> And on Kingo's monument at Odense is this beautiful epitaph, also written by Grundtvig:

> Thomas Kingo is the psalmist
> Of the Danish temple choir.
> This his people will remember
> As long as song their hearts inspire.[36]

The book of 1699 continued to be used quite extensively throughout Denmark as various attempts were made to reform it. One of the first to exert effort in this direction was Hans Adolph Brorson (1694-1764) known as the "Christmas Poet" of Denmark. Brorson was born into a Lutheran pastor's home in Ranrup in the border province of Schleswig. Early he came under the influence of the pietistic revival which was sweeping the Lutheran church. Aaberg comments on the Pietist movement in Denmark:

> The strong revival movement that was sweeping the country and displacing the old orthodoxy, was engendered by the German Pietist movement, entering Denmark through Slesvig. The two conceptions of Christianity differed, it has been said, only in their emphasis. Orthodoxy emphasized doctrine and Pietism, life. Both conceptions were one-sided. If Orthodoxy had resulted in a lifeless formalism, Pietism soon lost its effectiveness in a sentimental subjectivism. Its neglect of sound doctrine eventually gave birth to Rationalism. But for the

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[35] Aaberg, op. cit., pp. 49, 50.

[36] Ryden, op. cit., p. 207.

> moment Pietism appeared to supply what orthodoxy lacked: an urgent call to Christians to live what they professed to believe.[37]

Brorson joined the Pietist group, and along with his two brothers worked diligently in the renewal of the Lutheran church in Denmark. Aaberg elaborates further on their activities:

> And they did not spare themselves. Both separately cooperatively, they labored zealously to increase church attendance, revive family devotions, encourage Bible reading and hymn singing, and minimize the many worldly and doubtful amusements that, then as now, caused many Christians to fall. They also began to hold private assemblies in the homes, a work for which they were bitterly condemned by many and severely reprimanded by the authorities. It could not be expected, of course, that a work so devoted to the furtherance of a new conception of the Christian life would be tolerated without opposition. But their work, nevertheless, was blest with abundant fruit, both in their own parishes and throughout neighboring districts. Churches were refilled with worshippers, family altars rebuilt, and a new song was born in thousands of homes. People expressed their love for the three brothers by naming them "The Rare Three-Leafed Clover from Randrup." It is said that the revival inspired by the Brorsons even now, more than two hundred years later, is plainly evident in the spiritual life of the district.[38]

After study at the University of Copenhagen, Brorson became pastor in his own town of Randrup where he spent eight successful years. His first hymns were written during this time. From Randrup he removed to Tønden and became associated with Rev. Johan Herman Schroeder, a German preaching pastor from Hamburg, himself an ardent Pietist and hymn enthusiast. It is said that singing was a major activity of the services in this particular church. Schroeder himself was a hymnist, and shortly after Brorson joined the staff, the former produced a German hymnal containing 1157 hymns.

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[37] Aaberg, op. cit., p. 62.

[38] Ibid., p. 64.

There was evidently a friendly conflict between the use of Danish and German in the Tønden congregation which produced its problems, particularly to the Danish-speaking preacher. To insure singing in the one language for the Christmas festival of 1732 he published a small booklet of Christmas hymns for the use of the congregation. This established him at once as one of the great hymn writers of the church. The collection consisted of ten hymns in all, several of them on the Christmas theme. They were of the highest literary quality and considered by literary critics to be some of the finest in the Danish language. The second hymn in this hymnal is considered the best in the collection. Aaberg has given a complete translation of it, from which is quoted the first stanza:

> This blessed Christmastide we will,
> With heart and mind rejoicing,
> Employ our every thought and skill,
> God's grace and honor voicing.
> In Him that in the manger lay
> We will with all our might today
> Exult in heart and spirit,
> And hail Him as our Lord and King
> Till earth's remotest bounds shall ring
> With praises of His merit.[39]

The success of his Christmas hymns prompted him to publish five collections within the next year. In 1739 they were collected into one volume, Troens rare Klenodie (The Faith's Rare Jewel). Its contents include sixty-seven originals and 216 translations. (Julian estimates that his translations make up three-fourths of his contributions to Danish hymnody.) The Pietistic flavor is strong in his poems, and there are many instances of extreme Pietism with its emphasis on the wounds and blood of Christ. In spite of this, it was well received and many of the hymns remain in popular use. Before Brorson died the book passed through six editions. The edition of 1823 was edited by his grandnephew, A. Winding Brorson. In his rather lengthy introduction he has this to say concerning his uncle's psalms:

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[39] Ibid., pp. 68, 69.

> "Troens Rare Klenodie" comprises 233 numbers, whereof the greater part are translations or revisions from the German. The most of those I have singled out are originals, of which Christmas and New Year Psalms are according to my opinion outstandingly beautiful. Fifty to sixty years ago these Psalms were known and treasured, not only in Denmark but as a friend and acquaintance had assured me, also in Norway. For anyone who has discernment for soulful religious poetry here will be found a rich overflow of edifying songs, out of which I have chosen those which I considered most fitting both for the present and the future. For it cannot be denied that such a choosing was called for, and it will be for others to pass judgment as to whether or not I have been circumspect in my selecting.[40]

One of the great contributions of Brorson was his revival hymns, which, according to Aaberg, were sadly lacking in the Lutheran communion. The Pietist clarion call to spiritual revival is found throughout these poems. The following excerpt is a sample of this type of hymn.

Awaken from your idle dreaming!
Ye lukewarm Christians, now arise.
Behold, the light from heaven streaming
Proclaims the day of mercy flies.
Throw off that sinful sleep before
To you is closed the open door.

Strongly allied to this theme is the warning of impending judgment:

O heart, prepare to give account
Of all thy sore transgression.
To God, of grace and love the Fount,
Make thou a full confession.
What hast thou done these many years
The Lord hath thee afforded.
Nothing but sin and earthly cares
Is in God's book recorded.

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[40] A. Winding Brorson, Nogle af salig Biskop Hans Adolph Brorsons Psalmer (Kjobenhann: Andreas Seidelin, 1823), pp. 8, 9.

Pietism emphasized a virile and active faith in contrast to the more formal faith of Orthodoxy. This first stanza by Brorson is typical of the entire hymn.

> The faith that Christ embraces
> And purifies the hearts
> The faith that boldly faces
> The devil's fiery darts,
> That faith is strong and must
> Withstand the world's temptation
> And in all tribulation,
> In Christ, the Saviour, trust.

Significantly Brorson wrote no noteworthy hymns on the sacraments as did Grundtvig and Kingo. This is to be expected since the sacramental aspect of communion and baptism was de-emphasized by the pietists.

The revision of the Psalmebog of 1699 originally projected by Brorson was completed by Eric Pontoppidan in 1740. It bore the title Den ny Salmebog. Although Brorson did not officially oversee this revision he contributed a sizeable number of hymns and translations. Kingo's hymns for the most part were changed very little, and most of the new material was from Brorson. Winding Brorson has commented concerning the compilation and editing of this hymnal:

> The Pontoppidan Collection which first came out in 1740, next in 1745 and finally in 1775 (if there were later ones I don't know) was a selection of all the different authors known, but without putting the author's name under each composition. Brorson's Psalms were for a long time both before and after the first publication of Pontoppidan's Psalm Book, so popular that they were often sung from memory by the common people in Julland, as was practiced in those times for usable godly encouragement. But never in my youth were they ascribed to Brorson by name, but were simply said to be of Pontoppidan's Psalms. Indeed it may never have occurred to anyone that the Christmas Psalm, so admired

> by our foremost poets, was of Brorson, had not Prof. Rahbek set him in his proper light.[41]

Among the many fine memorials to Brorson is the volume entitled Hans Adolph Brorson's Swan Song, which is a collection of unpublished songs compiled by his son, Sal. Biskop Brorson. They reflect his own assurance and hope during the trying experiences of his later life. The collection has been immortalized by the hymn "Behold a Host" which became famous by its association with Edward Grieg's musical setting. Ryden has called it the most popular Scandinavian hymn in the English language. The translation of a stanza from the hymnal of the Danish Lutheran Church in America is given:

Behold the mighty whiten robed band
Like thousand snowclad mountains stand
With waving palms
And swelling psalms
Above at God's right hand.
These are the heroes brave that came
Through tribulation, war and flame
And in the flood
Of Jesus' blood
Were cleansed from sin and shame.
Now with the ransomed, heavenly Throng
They praise the Lord in every tongue,
And anthems swell
Where God doth dwell
Admidst the angels' song.

Concerning the publication of this collected volume, these comments are from Brorson's grand-nephew:

> The song is written during the last year of his life, mainly for himself and those nearest to him, as stimulation to inner godly encouragement during his frequent sufferings to body and mind, without any idea at the time that the song would ever be published. But when some copies thereof, some with and some without his knowledge (among which were found some material not composed by himself) were passed around, inside and outside his diocese and were re-written, it happened as one often has seen proved, that word and meaning

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[41] Ibid., pp. 18, 19.

> could be altered. After the passing of Sal. Brorson to the Father, many have made known their longing to see the manuscript in print. In consideration of reasons named in the foregoing so much the less has anyone proposed to publish a collection of songs purely his own before this. But when it is general knowledge that his many years ago published songs and later added Psalms, which are so hearty and edifying have been much sought for and put to use in many in our Danish and Norwegian Zion, this is sent forth.[42]

The movement of rationalism which swept Europe in the latter part of the eighteenth century produced a new and mutilated hymnal. The Evangelical Christian Hymnal published at this time eliminated many of the hymns of the type of Brorson's and drastically revised others. However, Brorson's message was kept alive in the hearts of the Scandinavian people. Small groups of laymen met in homes for periods of devotion at which time they nurtured themselves on Luther's sermons and Brorson's hymns. During the evangelical awakening in the nineteenth century the hymns of Brorson were restored to their rightful place in public worship.

Brorson's relationship to the Lutheran church and Pietism is summed up by Aaberg:

> Although Brorson remained a loyal son of the established church, he wrote his finest hymns on those phases of Christianity most earnestly emphasized by the movement to which he belonged. While this is only what could be expected, it indicates both his strength and limitation as a hymnwriter. He was above all the sweet singer of Pietism.[43]

At this time of despair and spiritual decline, which began with the death of King Christian VI, Nicholas Grundtvig entered the scene of the religious life of Denmark. He was born in 1783 at Udby into the family of Johann and Catherine Marie Grundtvig. Johann was pastor of the parish church and a strong evangelical Lutheran. Nicholas' education began at nine years of age under a pastor-tutor, L. Feld. At the age of fifteen, he enrolled in the Latin school at Aarhus from which he emerged quite cynical in his attitude toward religion and his spiritual heritage. From 1800 to 1805 he studied at the University of Copenhagen. As he looked back on his University experience, he described himself as a "narrow-minded Pharisee," quite satisfied with his moral and spiritual attainments. Grundtvig accepted a position as tutor in a wealthy family. He read extensively, including his much-neglected Bible, and became interested in poetry and literature.

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[42] Ibid., p. 30.

[43] Aaberg, op. cit., p. 84.

In the midst of continuing uncertainties concerning Christianity and his personal faith and the desire to continue writing, in which field he had seen a measure of success, he reluctantly accepted his father's invitation to become his assistant. He prepared what later became his famous ordination sermon in which he attacked the rationalism of the Danish clergy. The sermon was the beginning of a long controversy within the church of Denmark, which lasted during the remaining years of Grundtvig's life. The clergy were insulted at his insinuations concerning their message and demanded an apology from the young cleric. The whole affair was a turning point in his life, and from henceforth he appealed in his messages to the Bible and the message of history in his defense of evangelical Christianity which he now embraced. After this experience and with his feet on firm theological ground he willingly entered into the work as his father's assistant following his ordination in 1811.

Grundtvig endeared himself to the people of the parish in Udby. In addition to his duties as parish priest he again turned his attention to writing, and during his brief ministry at Udby he produced three rather sizeable works. He sought to raise the spiritual level of his people and restore historical Christianity to its proper place in his native Denmark by numerous prose and poetic works. Upon his father's death in 1813 he removed to Copenhagen where he occupied himself almost exclusively in writing both secular and religious works. So fruitful were the results of this labor that a friend remarked, "Kingo's harp has been strung afresh."[44]

In 1821 King Frederik VI appointed Grundtvig to the pastorate in the parish of Prastø, but after one year he returned to Copenhagen as chaplain of St. Savior's Church in Christianshavn. His long desire for a pastorate in the capital city had been fulfilled. Although his ministry was conducted on a grand scale and people thronged to hear him preach, Grundtvig was much dissatisfied with their preoccupation with rationalism and their apathy toward the evangelical faith. He was entirely in sympathy with the evangelicals and Pietists and encouraged by their support of his preaching; nevertheless, he did not approve of their private assemblies. Quite openly he put the blame on the pastors of the State Church for the severance of such groups from the establishment. His writings were concerned with the problem but seemingly brought little results. Only the future proved that as a result of his ministry rationalism had been dealt a crushing blow by his efforts.

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[44] Julian, op. cit., p. 1001.

When Grundtvig was told that only hymns from the authorized hymnal would be used in the great anniversary in 1826 celebrating a thousand years of Christianity in Denmark, he realized this decision was against him personally. Grundtvig resigned from his pastorate. Mixed reactions followed his resignation.

After an absence of six years he once again entered the pulpit. Against his better judgment he became pastor of an independent congregation. After much deliberation and discussion with the authorities, the church was granted the use of the abandoned building of the Frederik Church and permitted to hold a vesper service each Sunday. He was limited in his privileges, not being allowed to administer the sacraments or to instruct the young people. He could not even confirm his own sons. At the time he was contemplating resigning from the Frederik Church, he was offered the position of pastor of Vartov, an institution for the aged.

From the time he assumed this position in 1839 until his death, the chapel at Vartov became the center for the ever-growing Grundtvig movement. Even the Queen attended the meetings in the chapel to enjoy the preaching of Grundtvig and the enthusiastic singing of the congregation. Some of his own hymns which were introduced at Vastov found their way into the assemblies over the whole of Denmark. It is believed that the traditional singing of this congregation set the pattern for the entire church of Denmark.

Mention should be made at this point of his contribution in another area of Danish life, that of the Danish folk school. The first of these "Grundtvigion" schools opened in Rödding in 1844 and marked the beginning of the public school movement in Denmark. The movement eventually spread to include all of Scandinavia and earned for Grundtvig the title of "father of the public school in Scandinavia."[45]

Brief mention has already been made in Chapter One to Grundtvig's re-casting of old Danish hymns. In addition to revision and some translation he has left a rich legacy of hymns which are still being used even outside of Scandinavia. Some of his earliest hymns came out of that period of his life around 1810 when he was experiencing the inner spiritual and mental struggles. One poem was on the theme of the visit of the Magi. This remained his sole contribution for a considerable length of time. Aaberg has listed his additional contributions from 1810 to 1825.

> During his years of intense work with the sagas he only occasionally broke his "engagement" with the dead to strike the lyre for the living. In 1815 he translated "In Death's Strong Bonds Our Savior Lay" from Luther, and "Christ Is Risen from the Dead" from the Latin. The three hundredth anniversary of the Reformation brought his adaptation of Kingo's "Like the Golden Sun Ascending" and translations of Luther's "A Mighty Fortress Is Our God" and "The Bells Ring in the Christmastime." In 1820 he published his now popular "A Babe Is Born at Bethlehem" from an old Latin-Danish text, and 1824 saw his splendid rendering of "The Old Day Song," "With Gladness We Hail the Blessed Day," and his original "On Its Rock the Church of Jesus Stood Mongst Us a Thousand Years."[46]

As dissatisfaction mounted toward the rationalistic Evangelical Christian Hymnal, Grundtvig was urged from all sides to produce more hymns. Since he was occupied with prose writings he had set aside his activity in hymnody, but in the pressure from his friends in the church he resumed the writing of hymns around the year 1835. A pastor friend, Gunni Busck, was so overjoyed at Grundtvig's renewed interest in this field that he sent him a sizeable contribution to finance the work. Funds were forthcoming from other sources as well. Within the space of a year he had studied rather completely the history of Christian hymnody and produced his first volume entitled Songs of the Danish Church. It numbered 401 hymns, originals and translations from ancient sources. Although it was not officially adopted or well-received outside the circle of his own followers, many of the hymns in this hymnal have been used in later collections.

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[45] Ryden, op. cit., p. 216.

[46] Aaberg, op. cit., p. 122.

Meanwhile agitation for a revision of the old Danish hymnal continued. The natural one to head up such a task was Grundtvig, but because of a political situation in the church he had no part in the first attempt. The appointed committee produced the supplement to the hymnal which came from the press in 1843. Hymns by Kingo, Brorson, and Grundtvig were included, and the supplement was widely circulated. Because the church in general still was not satisfied with the new supplement, a new committee for further revision was appointed, headed by Grundtvig himself. The supplement was submitted in 1845; in spite of the well-balanced contents the conference rejected it on the basis that the hymnal bore the imprint of Grundtvig--again a biased political opinion.

Realizing that he could expect no better treatment in the future, Grundtvig set about to provide more material for his friends in the private assemblies. In 1845 he produced a small book of Christmas hymns and sometime later a similar one for Easter. Several collections for various seasons followed until all were collected into a single volume for use at Vartov. Many of the hymns were introduced into the

Lutheran congregations in spite of official edicts against their use. According to Ryden, the greatest of Grundtvig's hymns deal with the church and its sacraments.

Although Grundtvig was concerned with the low condition of the church of his day he did not despair but continually expressed hope in its ultimate triumph. One of the best known of such hymns is his "Built on the Rock." The first stanza herewith quoted is indicative of the spirit and message of the entire hymn.

> Built on a Rock the Church doth stand,
> Even when steeples are falling;
> Crumbled have spires in every land,
> Bells still are chiming and calling;
> Calling the young and old to rest,
> Calling the souls of men distressed,
> Longing for life everlasting.

While Kingo is the poet of Christmas and Brorson the poet of Easter, Grundtvig has become known as the poet of Pentecost. Almost equal to his hymns on the church are those on the work of the Spirit in the life of the believer. Because of his treatment of the text it is difficult to discern whether a certain hymn is an original or an adaptation. His version of the Pentecost hymn "Veni Sancte Spirtus" illustrates this point.

> Holy Spirit, come with light,
> Break the dark and gloomy night
> With Thy day unending.
> Help us with a joyful lay
> Greet the Lord's triumphant day
> Now with might ascending.

The concept of Pentecost as coming at the beginning of the summer is purely Danish and is expressed in a novel way in another of his hymns for this season.

The sun now shines in all its splendor,
The fount of life and mercy tender;
Now bright Whitsunday lilies grow
And summer sparkles high and low;
Sweet songsters sing of harvest gold
In Jesus' name a thousand fold.

Space does not permit of an extensive quoting of Grundtvig's poetry. It is worth noting, however, the various themes on which he has written. Among these are the Kingdom of God, the sacraments, opening and closing hymns, psalm texts, personal Christian living, and the Word of God.

Before concluding our study of Grundtvig a word is in order concerning his style. Although he was a prolific writer and produced many volumes of poetry, he had no peer as a writer. Aaberg has described his poetry as "rough but expressive" and abounding in "rich imagery." One finds a deep warmth of personal experience and commitment in his poems, although some of his devotional hymns are quite objective in nature. Many of his great hymns are those in praise of Christ as Redeemer. Aaberg mentions the fact that Grundtvig considered himself a "skjald," endowed with the gift of intuition and insight into deep spiritual things, thus being able to defend himself against the criticism of his sometimes "jumbled style."

The fiftieth anniversary of his ordination was an occasion for great celebration. The details are described by Aaberg.

> Grundtvig's fiftieth anniversary as a pastor was celebrated with impressive festivities on May 29, 1861. The celebration was attended by representatives from all departments of government and the church as well as by a host of people from all parts of Scandinavia; and the celebrant was showered with gifts and honors. The king conferred upon him the title of bishop; the former queen, Carolina Amalia, presented him with a seven armed candlestick of gold from women in Norway, Sweden and Denmark; his friend, Pastor P. A. Fenger, handed him a gift of three thousand dollars from

> friends in Denmark and Norway to finance a popular edition of his Hymns and Songs for the Danish Church; and another friend, Gunni Busck, presented him with a plaque of gold engraved with his likeness and a line from his hymns, a gift from the congregation of Vartov.[47]

An additional tribute is paid Grundtvig by Aaberg:

> Grundtvig found the spiritual in many things, in the myth of the North, in history, literature and, in fact, in all things through which man has to express his God-given nature. He had no patience with the pietists who looked upon all things not directly religious as evils with which a Christian could have nothing to do. Yet he believed above all in the Holy Spirit as the "Spirit of spirits," the true agent of God in the world.[48]

Ryden closes his chapter on Grundtvig by his mention of the poet's last day on earth. He also pays tribute to the life and work of this remarkable man.

> On Sept. 1, 1872, when nearly 89 years old, he conducted services in his church at Vartov as usual, preaching a sermon full of warmth and feeling. On the following day he passed away while sitting in his chair and listening to his son as the latter read to him. Thus ended the remarkable career of the sage of Denmark who once was the loneliest man in all the land, but who always will be remembered as the greatest historian, poet, educator, religious philosopher, hymnwriter and folk leader that nation has produced.[49]

Additional Hymn Writers of Nineteenth Century Denmark

The Danish Lutheran hymnal contains hymns from nearly sixty native writers. Because of the stature of Kingo, Brorson, and Grundtvig it would have been easy to overlook others who also made a substantial contribution to the evangelical cause through their hymns. Among these hymnists one finds the name of Ambrosius Stub (1705-1758) who was considered the greatest of eighteenth century Danish poets. A woman hymnist, Birgitte Boye, was the author of a sizeable number of hymns. In the hymnal of 1870 there are approximately 150 of her hymns. The Guldberg Hymnal of 1778 contained 124 originals by her as well as twenty-four translations. These comprise approximately a third of the contents of this volume by H. Guldberg.

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[47] Ibid., pp. 155.

[48] Ibid., pp. 157, 158.

[49] Ryden, op. cit., p. 219.

The evangelical revival of the mid-nineteenth century produced several hymn writers of note among whom was Casper J. Boye, a gifted writer and the author of the collection, Spiritual Songs.

Another volume by the same title was produced by Boye's contemporary, Herman Andreas Timm. A prominent member of this group was Theodore Vilhelm Oldenburg, whose hymns appeared in various religious periodicals to which he contributed regularly. Although not definitely aligned with the pietistic movement, the hymns of these writers show a close affinity to the cause.

Foremost among the writers of this period is Grundtvig's close friend, Bernhard S. Ingemann (1789-1862). Like the former, he was born into a pastor's house and went through a series of spiritual crises as well, from which he emerged triumphantly as did Grundtvig. Through Grundtvig's influence he became interested in writing, and after study which included visits to France, Switzerland, Italy, and Germany he embarked on his literary career. His writings did much to foster the revival of the national spirit both in Denmark and Norway.

Ingemann, in spite of his popularity as a secular writer, is now best known through his hymns. He brought out his first volume of morning and evening hymns in 1822. This was followed by a volume of church hymns in 1825, a reprint of which was made in 1843.

Because of the popularity of these hymns Ingemann was commissioned in 1855 by the clerical synod of Roeskilde to produce a new Salmebog. It was based on Kingo's book and contained new hymns by Brorson, Grundtvig, Ingemann and C. J. Boye.[50]

Two of the most popular of Ingemann's poems are "Through the Night of Doubt and Sorrow," in a translation by Sabine Baring-Gould, first published in 1867 in the People's Hymn Book in England, and the favorite of his lyrics "Dejlig er Jorden," (Pilgrim Song), which is sung to the melody of "Beautiful Savior." Aaberg's translation of the first stanza gives a general idea of the spirit of the hymn.

> Fair is creation,
> Fairer God's heaven,
> Blest is the marching pilgrim throng.
> Onward through lovely
> Regions of beauty
> Go we to Paradise with song.

Norwegian Hymnists of the Pietistic Period

The Norwegians followed the lead of Denmark in the choosing and use of their hymns. Kingo's hymnal was the authorized book for their use, followed by the revisions of Pontoppidan, Guldberg, and Hauge. Pietism produced few young hymnists of note in Norway, that is hymnists who were definitely identified with the movement such as Brorson was in Denmark. To be sure Grundtvig did not consider himself a Pietist, but as has already been noted, Pietists readily accepted his hymns, and his preaching satisfied their demands. In Norway more than in Denmark, there were hymnists who perhaps were even more openly denunciatory of

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[50] Julian, op. cit., p. 1002.

Pietism, with the Pietists in a reciprocal relationship; on the other hand as one examines the hymns from both countries one senses the pietistic emphasis on deep spirituality and the opposition to rationalism. For this reason the following several composers from Norway are included at this juncture.

The latter part of the nineteenth century produced much Norwegian hymnody. The Napoleonic wars effected a break in political ties with Denmark and in this new spirit of nationalism a hymnody was born in Norway.

One of the first to feel the need of hymns distinctly from his native land was Wilhelm A. Wexels (1797-1866). He was a minister of the Norwegian State Church and served one parish, Our Savior's Church, in Oslo during his entire ministry. Wexels was a controversial figure, denounced by the liberals and conservatives alike, but many felt he was God's prophet to lead Norway away from rationalism and back to the historic Christian faith. Because he was influenced by Grundtvig in his concept of the church, the Pietists were skeptical of him and he likewise of them, although both were concerned about a real renewal in the church. Upon the death of his wife his thoughts and preaching centered on the life beyond the grave, and at times he expressed belief in a "second chance" after death for one never committed to the Christian faith.

In spite of the controversy which he engendered, his congregations increased until great throngs came to hear him preach in Our Savior's Church. The strong evangelical witness of the Norwegian Church referred to in Chapter Two is traceable to the ministry of Wexels a century ago. Ryden makes this claim for him:

> Church historians claim that Wexels' ministry proved to be a turning point in the Church of Norway, making a return to conservative Lutheran teaching. Eventually he had as many friends as once he had had enemies. He was even offered the bishopric of Bergen, but refused to accept the honor, preferring to remain with his beloved congregation in the nation's capital.[51]

Besides his popularity as a preacher, Wexels was also popular as an author and poet. In addition to his editorial duties he published a New Testament Commentary, a Bible history, and a book of devotions. In 1834 he published an official hymnal for the Norwegian church, Hymn Verses Selected from Old Hymns for Use in the Home and the School. The contents as listed by Ryden are most interesting. It contained 714 hymns, including originals and translations by Wexels, fifty translations of the Wallin Psalmbok and several from the German.[52] This book was published in revision in 1844 followed by two other collections, the last of which he desired to be accepted as a proposed official hymnal. This proposal was rejected as were two other attempts at such a book. It was to be Lanstad's task to furnish such a hymnal.

Although Wexels failed to be recognized for a "great" and monumental work in hymnody, his individual hymns found their way into the hearts of the Norwegian people. He is well represented in the hymnals of both the State Church and the free-church denominations.

The general spirit of his hymns can be sensed in what was perhaps the favorite of the Norwegian people, "O Happy Day," written for the Norwegian Mission Society in 1846. The translation by George A. T. Rygh is quoted below:

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[51] Ryden, op. cit., p. 234.

[52] Ibid., p. 235.

O happy day, when we shall stand
   Amid the heavenly throng,
And sing with hosts from every land
   The new celestial song.

O blessed day! From far and near
   The servants of the Lord
Shall meet His ransomed children there
   Who heard God's saving Word.

O what a mighty, rushing flood
   Of love without surcease
Shall surge about the throne of God,
   In joy and endless peace!

Lord, may Thy bounteous grace inspire
   Our hearts to watch and pray,
That we may join the heavenly choir
   Upon that glorious day.

It remained for Magnus B. Landstad (1802-1880) to edit the revised hymnbook of the Norwegian State Church in 1869, which book has remained long in the service of the church. Lanstad was born in 1802, and like so many others grew up in the home of a Lutheran pastor. The third of a family of ten children, he knew the hardships of war and poverty. His father recognized unusual talent in the boy, and at the age of twenty Magnus enrolled at the university in Oslo. During his university days he was influenced greatly by the writings of Philipp Nicolai and Bishop Arrebo of Denmark. Reading their hymns gave him the insight into the old hymns of the church and inspired him in the direction of becoming a writer himself. Lanstad's translation of "Wachet Auf" of Nicolai eventually found its place in the Norwegian Lutheran hymnal.

In 1828 he was appointed vicar of the church at Gausdal; during this pastorate his first hymn was written. In his next pastorate he continued to write hymns. When he succeeded his father in the church in Seljard, he published his first book of devotional poetry. Successive pastorates in Fredrikshold and Sandeherred allowed him more time for the writing of hymns.

Lanstad's early interest in folklore was seen in his collecting and publishing of old Norwegian folksongs. His long association with this aspect of Norwegian life is revealed in the "folksy" character of his "psalms."[53] The Pietists denounced him for his interest in anything so "secular" as folksongs, and his own congregation in Telemark, which was dominated by a Pietist group, refused to let him use his own hymnbook in worship.

Because of the pressures of the situation in Telemark he removed to Fredrikshold where three of his children died. During these trying days Lanstad wrote some of his most meaningful hymns, among them, the resurrection hymn, "Jeg vet mig en søvn i Jesu namn," (I know of a sleep in Jesus' name).

His interest in and emphasis on the second advent of Christ are to be seen in the hymn which begins "Jeg løfter op til Gud min sang" (I raise to God my praise in song). Lövgren describes the hymn as being "full of sanctified inspiration and Christ-loving longing for the Bridegroom."[54]

The hymns of Martin Luther and his successors in Germany were of particular interest to Lanstad, so much so that he studied them extensively. He wrote a penitential hymn much in the style of Luther's "Aus tiefer Noth."

> To Thee, O Lord, the God of all,
> With contrite heart I humbly call,
> And view my sins against Thee, Lord,
> The sins of thought and deed and word;
> In my distress I cry to Thee,
> O God, be merciful to me.

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[53] Lövgren, *op. cit.*, III, p. 386.

[54] *Ibid.*, p. 387.

In the revised Kirkesalmebog of Landstad, which has been reprinted as late as 1956, are some of his originals and translations, among them several of Luther's hymns. Hymns of Kingo, Brorson, and Grundtvig are also included in this volume of nearly 900 selections.

The popularity of Landstad's hymns can best be seen in their extensive use in the hymnals of the State Church as well as in those of the free-church groups. His hymns were made popular by the musical settings of Ludwig Lindeman, about whom more will be said in Chapter Five.

Summary

The study of the hymns of the pietistic period substantiates Nelle's claim that no period in the history of hymnody is as interesting or as productive as that of Pietism. The emphases of the hymns on the mystical, personal religious experiences and the person and ministry of Christ had their appeal to those who reacted to the formal, objective worship of the State Church. Hymns provided a framework and basis for the private as well as corporate worship of the Pietists. The simplicity of their hymns complemented their desire for simplicity in worship.

Poets and authors within the pietistic fold were inspired to express their faith in sacred verse. From the writings of Spener and Zinzendorf to the poems of the Pietists in Scandinavia, those who used them found in them vital expressions of Christian faith as they had experienced it. In addition to these expressions, the hymns dealt with evils in the church and vice in the world, and warned the Pietists against these existing conditions. Believers were admonished in many hymns to wear the "warrior's armor" in the fight against sin and wickedness.

Not only were private collections of hymns produced in great number by the Pietists, but pietistic hymns found their way into authorized hymnals of the established church. The hymnals of Swedberg and Wallin, as well as less important publications, are cases in point. Many of these hymns were gleaned from official publications such as Pietisten and other religious journals which were widely read by the Pietists.

The hymns of the free-church groups in Scandinavia had their origin and inspiration in the hymns of Pietism. The study of free-church hymnody verifies this assertion. While much of pietistic hymnody is inferior in content and expression, scores of hymns of the Pietists have found a recognized place among the great hymns of Christendom.

CHAPTER IV

THE HYMNODY OF THE FREE CHURCHES OF SCANDINAVIA

The Hymnody of the Swedish Baptists

In the way of a recapitulation it is pertinent to re-emphasize that the first free church of Sweden which continues to the present day is the Baptist Church. The first congregation was organized in the Holland district in 1848 under the leadership of F. O. Nilsson, who, as has been noted, was expelled from his native country of Sweden in 1850. The quickening of the spiritual life in Sweden during the latter part of the nineteenth century can be credited in great measure to the influence of the Baptists.

With the religious awakening at this time there appeared many new hymns of praise written for the use of the Baptist assemblies. While the hymns of the Established Church, such as those by Spegel, Franzen, and Wallin, took on new meaning and those of the Pietisti-Moravian tradition remained ever popular, hymns by Baptist converts were a natural consequence of the new movement. Among the early accessions to the Baptist cause were the Palmquist brothers, Johannes, Per, and Gustaf. The latter two became famous by their literary contributions not only with respect to the Baptist group but in the general religious awakening in Sweden.

Considered to be the first Baptist hymn writer of Sweden, Gustaf claims major interest because of his influence on the hymnody of the

Baptist movement in the early days. He was born in 1812 in the Jönköping district. When he was six years of age his father died leaving the widow and seven children in dire circumstances.

Gustaf's early education was acquired in his own home. At the invitation of his brother Johannes, who was a teacher in the Närke district, he attended the same school and received further education which was to prepare him for his future occupation in the field of music. In the fall of 1837 he enrolled in the music school in Stockholm and the following year qualified for the positions of both teacher and "Kantor." In the time immediately following he taught in Stockholm and Värmland.

While in Stockholm both he and his brother Per were influenced by the evangelical revival, and following a spiritual crisis, each entered at once into the evangelistic effort. Gustaf went to America to do missionary work among the Swedes and shortly thereafter joined the Baptists and their cause. As has been mentioned in a previous chapter, he founded the first Swedish Baptist Church in America at Rock Island, Illinois, and for a time served as its pastor. Following his pastorate in Rock Island he served in a similar capacity in a church in Chicago and engaged in the training of young ministers to serve the Swedish denomination in America. He returned to Sweden in 1857 to aid the Baptist cause there and was instrumental in establishing the training school for colporteurs in the same year. He became popular in his home country as an accomplished preacher and teacher. In died in 1867 in the midst of a brilliant and promising career among the Swedish Baptists.

Chief amongst his many contributions to the evangelical cause in Sweden are his hymns and hymn publications. In America Gustaf came to know many hymns in the English language. Upon his return to Sweden he translated many of these hymns into Swedish and wrote many originals to aid the Baptist cause. Inspired and encouraged by his brother Per's publication, Spiritual Songs for Children, Gustaf published in 1859 a volume called Pilgrim Songs on the Way to the Heavenly Zion, (Pilgrims-Sånger). The first edition contained 221 selections, about one hundred of which were translations from the English with musical settings. Nearly fifty songs were written by Swedish authors and many were taken from Per's book of songs for children. In the same year a second edition was printed with the addition of five more songs. Although the title of this book appears over the names of both brothers, it was Gustaf who was the main editor and compiler. Only four in this collection are originals of Gustaf. Pilgrims-Sånger went through several editions, including the musical edition of 1860 and a supplement of eighty-eight new songs in the edition of 1862, which reached the publication figure of 400,000 copies. The 1862 supplement contains a number of originals by Gustaf Palmquist as well as selected verses and songs from the Swedish Psalm Book (See Chapter Five). The foreword indicates that many of the translations had been used in English revival meetings and eventually made their way to Sweden. Their popularity and enthusiastic reception resulted in their being translated and published for use by many of the free-church congregations. Further comment by Palmquist includes an apologetic in which he explains that these songs were not meant for the "musically elite" but for the more "simple minded and less educated" among the people. Their purpose was mainly to bring comfort where needed and to aid in evangelistic efforts in the church. Pilgrims-Sånger was used mainly in Baptist circles but was also popular in other "revival-leaning" groups of Sweden.[1]

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[1] Oscar Lövgren, Psalm och Sånglexikon (Stockholm: Gummesson's Bokförlag, 1964), p. 532.

In 1878, nearly twenty years after the publication of Pilgrims-Sånger, Dr. Erik Nystrom, at the behest of Per Palmquist, produced a new hymnal, Församlings-Sångbok. Earlier, Nystrom had published a collection of Sankey's songs in translation, but since he did not have legal authority to include them in this new book he set about to translate additional songs of Sankey for this purpose. Included in the 1878 book were over one hundred translations from English as well as a number of originals. Many of the texts were based on Biblical psalms.

Palmquist had hoped that this new hymnal should become popular and be used not only in Baptist circles but in many free congregations in Sweden. Although the contents of this book included hymns on practically every aspect of Christian doctrine, worship, and experience it did not become popular among the Baptists. Likewise in Missionsförbundet it was used only sparingly. As far as the Baptists were concerned, no doubt their indifference to the Församlings Sångbok grew out of their desire to have a hymnal of their very own. In the meantime Pilgrims-Sånger remained popular among the free-church congregations.

Concurrent with the issuing and rejection of the 1878 volume came the appointment of a committee among the Baptists to explore the possibility of producing a decidedly Baptistic hymnal to meet the existing need. While Pilgrims-Sånger satisfied the layman, pastors felt the need for a hymnal with a wider variety of contents than was present in either of the afore-mentioned books. In 1880 the new hymnal, Psalmisten, came from the press. While it was principally for the Baptist groups, it was so designed that other free-church groups could use it with great benefit. Concerning the contents Anders Wiberg makes these comments in the preface to the first edition:

> In the entire collection there are 168 selections partly unchanged and partly revised more or less as to form, taken from Swedish Psalmbook, Rutstrom's Hymns, Finnish Psalmbook Proposal, Church of Brethren's Hymnal, T. Truve's Songs, A. Palm's Collection etc. The other 362 are in part translations of favorite hymns from other countries, and in part original Swedish hymns. For those who love the old well-known "Pilgrim Hymns" it will be pleasing to know that Herr Per Palmquist has granted permission for twenty of these hymns to be included in "Psalmisten."[2]

Also included in Psalmisten are forty-nine metrical versions of the psalms of David based on the Biblical psalter, which appear at the beginning of the book. The rest of the hymns are divided according to the following categories:

God and the Life of Christ
The Work of Grace in General
The Christian Life
The Word of God
God's Church
Hymns of Prayer
Time and Eternity

Among the twenty members of the hymnal committee which did its work with considerable dispatch was Jonas Stadling (1847-1935), secretary of the group. He furnished most of the new materials consisting of both originals and translations. After his becoming a Baptist in 1874 he studied at the Baptist Seminary in Stockholm and Uppsala University. His activities included travel, lectures, and the writing of both books and numerous songs of "abiding quality and appeal."

The intent and aspirations of the committee for Psalmisten are expressed by Wiberg:

> As for the real value of this hymn collection we can readily expect that there will be difference of opinion. Preference, taste and conviction, especially in spiritual matters, are admittedly so diverse, that even the actually beautiful, true and good are often

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[2] Psalmisten (Stockholm: A. L. Normans Boktryckeri-Aktiebolag, 1880), foreword to the first edition.

> rejected as something shallow, false, and harmful. We are, however, calm and glad in the awareness that we have meant to do our best. That our ability has in many ways been wanting, of this we are deeply cognizant; and we could therefore have wished, that the task entrusted to us as a hymnbook committee had been put into more competent hands. With all the shortcomings that may pertain to this achievement we still dare to hope that the collection may appeal especially to the Baptist churches in our land, on the one hand because here are found a larger number of hymns geared to Baptist faith and church order than can be found in other collections; on the other hand because the sale of the book will result in an income designed to help indigent, aged and ailing preachers and their families.[3]

The reception of Psalmisten by the Baptist conference was hardly more significant than that of the Församling-Sångbok. Though it was received with general enthusiasm, its popularity dwindled and the Baptists grew tired of it rather quickly. The earlier hymnal, Pilgrims-Sånger, continued to be popular, whereupon the Palmquist Publication Company decided to publish Nya Pilgrimsånger. This new edition of the old favorite, re-edited and enlarged, came from the press in 1892. Many new hymns which had never been in print before appeared in this new collection, which was to enjoy wide-spread popularity in free-church circles. A condensed translation of the foreword to Nya Pilgrimsånger sheds further light on its purpose, use and place in public and private worship:

> "Pilgrim Songs on way to the heavenly Zion" was published the first time in 1859 and has since then been issued in not less than forty-three editions. As these comprised the first song collection of this kind in our land, they have likewise been much loved and used.
>
> Many genuinely basic songs which never can become too old and which subsequently have been included in other song books, first became known through this one. There were, however, in Pilgrimsånger several songs which now

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[3] Ibid.

> are seldom used, while on the other hand new and valuable songs appeared from other sources and became generally known and liked. In response to the promptings of many we have therefore undertaken a re-editing of the Pilgrim Songs, whereby these could become more acceptable for both public and private use. Of the old songs have been eliminated only those that seldom have been sung; of the new has been included a rich selecting from the many good sources at our disposal.
>
> That "the praise-worthy name of Jesus may be held in honor and many pilgrims on their journey homeward may be re-invigorated" was the final wish stated in the foreword to the first edition of Pilgrimsånger--a wish that verily has been fulfilled. May now the new Pilgrim Songs be fraught with blessing, and the good seed sown by it, bring harvests for eternity.[4]

The name of Teodor Truvé (1838-1910) has already been mentioned in connection with the appearance of some of his songs in Psalmisten. Truvé was born in Skåne where his father was a lumberman. Because of the relative poverty in his home he had little chance for a substantial education. After a crisis in his religious experience in 1857 he enrolled in the Bible course conducted by Gustaf Palmquist in Stockholm in 1860. Following this part of his education he became an itinerant preacher throughout his home country. In 1862 he settled in Göteborg where he became assistant to the well-known F. O. Nilsson. His ministry in Göteborg extended for three years after which he traveled to America where he studied at Madison (Colgate) University until 1868. Following his sojourn and study in America, Truvé returned to Sweden where he served as pastor of the Baptist Tabernacle in Göteborg until his death in 1910.

In his lifetime Truvé became well known through his sermons and lectures on the Sunday school and temperance questions. In the literary field he translated many articles concerning spiritual edification and edited a children's paper, "Bikupan," (The Beehive). But Truvé is best known today because of the contribution he made to the cause of music for the Sunday schools of Sweden. His best known work in this area is his Sånger för Söndagsskolan af Hemmet (Songs for Sunday School and Home), which was published in thirty-two editions of 360,000 copies. Truvé's idea was to adapt the songs to the level of the Sunday school pupil, and as a result this collection made a strong impact and lasting contribution to religious education in Scandinavia.[5] The preface to the second edition indicates the popularity with which the collection was received:

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[4] Nya Pilgrimssånger (Stockholm: P. Palmquist's Aktiebolags Boktryckeri, 1894), from the foreword to the book.

> When the first edition of this book was put forth the publisher had a feeling similar to that of the sower when he sows a new kind of seed in his field: it was a trial venture. It succeeded above expectation for the first edition, even large as it was, has in less than a year been sold out, and this in spite of the fact that the book was not on sale in the general book stores. In the Sunday Schools where the children have once heard some of these songs and have learned to sing these light melodies, there they wish to continue singing them. Hence the publisher can only add: "Forbid them not."
>
> A new edition is now placed in the hands of the children with the wish that many children may be attracted to the Sunday school from streets and alleys, highways and byways and then continue to sing until teachers and pupils in time will gather around the throne of God and there together with all saints and angels sing the "new song."[6]

In this particular volume it is difficult to ascertain which songs were originals of Truvé and which had been borrowed from other authors and sources. It is quite certain that a number of them had been translated from the English by the author himself. In the collection entitled Sankey-Sånger which was published in three parts in 1875-1877 it is generally agreed that the greater part of them were translated by Truvé. In addition to this endeavor with the Sankey collection, he also wrote many songs for the 1880 edition of Psalmisten as has been indicated earlier in this chapter. In one copy of this hymnal he indicated which hymns he wrote.

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[5] Lövgren, op. cit., III, p. 150.

[6] Teodore Trued Truvé, Sånger för Söndagaskolan och Hemmet, (Chicago: Nya Wecko-Postens Förlag, 1886) from the foreword to the book.

Although the Baptists of Sweden were not as prolific in producing hymns as those of other countries, each attempt at composing gave some impetus and encouragement to aspiring hymnists. Although the number of hymn writers is modest, those who expressed their faith in sacred verse and melody made a significant contribution to the Baptist cause in Sweden during the last century.

One of the early contributors to Swedish Baptist hymnody was Karl Ålinder (1859-1929). His formal theological training was received at Betelseminariet in Stockholm and his service among the Baptists included a number of churches in Sweden, as well as special Sunday school missionary service in Östergötland. His interest in the publication phase of the Baptist outreach led him to work with the "Baptist missions bokförlag." In conjunction with this position he edited the "Barnens egen tidning." Ålinder's connection with the publishing house and his enthusiasm for spiritual singing in the Sunday school and church led him to publish several song collections for the use of the Baptists of Sweden. His contributions in this area included: Pilgrimens Lof (1889), Sjung (1892), and Nya Pilgrimens Lof (1901).

Josef Grytzel (1862-1908) is considered to have been one of the foremost of the Baptist song writers of Sweden. He was born in Dalarna and while a comparatively young man affiliated with the Baptist Church in Gävle, in which city he also engaged in the bookbinding trade. Prior to any formal theological training he began to preach and soon became associated with the District Society of Skåne. Following a period of study at Betelseminariet he engaged in successive pastorates in Malmö and Stockholm. Ill health forced him to leave the active ministry but he carried on an extensive ministry of writing, particularly hymn composition. Lövgren evaluates his efforts by referring to him as an "assiduous writer, noted especially within the Baptist denomination, whose songs are of more abiding value than his other literary efforts."[7]

In addition to his own song contributions, Gryztell engaged actively in the compilation of the 1903 edition of Psalmisten. The following titles and first lines in English translation selected from among those of Grytzell in this book reveal somewhat the thrust of Baptist hymnody of that day:

Glorious salvation now sounded forth
God's Love is Sure the Greatest.
The Shining Sun of Righteousness
God is Faithful, O My Soul
"Suffer the Children," Yet is heard.
Lord Jesus is the Vine of Truth
Flee from Sodom and its peril.
Atonement, Atonement, O Comforting Word
Spirit from Heaven, Comforting Spirit

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[7] Lövgren, op. cit., III, p. 165.

Troubled heart, just look to Jesus.
Bubbling Springs of Elim.[8]

Sharing honors with Gryztell for his contribution to Swedish Baptist hymnody is Jacob Bystrom (1854-1947). Although he was not as gifted a poet as Grytzell, Bystrom is considered to have contributed more to the overall success of the Baptist denomination than the former. Dr. Westin places him next in importance to Anders Wiberg. Bystrom, like so many others, attended popular courses for preachers prior to any formal seminary training and engaged in a ministry of itinerant evangelism throughout Sweden. Following his graduation from Betelseminariet, he spent two years in America studying at Colgate Seminary, which institution honored him with a Doctor of Theology degree in 1914.

After a short pastorate in New York, Bystrom returned to Sweden in 1884 and became pastor of several Baptist churches in succession. In 1889 his literary interests led him to accept a position on the editorial staff of Wecko-Posten, the official organ of the Baptists in Sweden. In 1919 he became editor-in-chief and remained in this position until 1932. In addition to this employment he functioned as journalist, lecturer, temperance promoter and member of the Swedish Riksdag.

In addition to these interests and accomplishments Bystrom maintained a great interest in hymnody, particularly as it pertained to the on-going of the work of the Baptists. With Grytzell he assisted with the compilation of the 1903 edition of Psalmisten and contributed some of his own songs, although not in as great a number as the former. One of his songs, "Go Preach," was inspired by his hearing a rather mediocre sermon and remarking to himself that at least the Gospel was preached! Other titles include:

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[8] Lövgren, Lexikon, pp. 247-249.

O Glorious Day is Breaking
O Lord, Just Let Thy Glory be Present
Jesus Loves the Little Child
In Our Native Land

More than for his songs, Bystrom is remembered for his monumental work on hymnology Sånger och Sångare which was published in three volumes in 1936, 1940, and 1943 respectively.

Two graduates from Betelseminariet who made modest contributions to Baptist hymnody are Harold Waxberg (1864-1900) and John Peter Johansson (1863-1920). The former possessed a degree of poetical ability which never realized its fulfillment because his life was cut short by tuberculosis. In addition to two songs which appeared in Psalmisten he published a collection of songs in 1899 under the title, "Trembling Leaves." Johansson, a Swedish Baptist pastor, was also highly gifted as a poet, although like Waxberg, very few of his songs have survived in later Scandinavian hymnals. Both of these men are represented by just one composition each in the latest Swedish Baptist hymnal, Psalm och Sång.

Karl August Moden (1868-1950) was originally associated with the Salvation Army of Sweden, but after training with this denomination and serving for a time as an officer he became a Baptist. After theological study he served many pastorates throughout Sweden. His last pastorate in Stockholm extended from 1898 to 1919 after which he assumed the position of mission secretary for the Swedish Baptists. His original song publications are few but he is remembered best for his lasting contribution to the revision of the 1903 edition of Psalmisten.

Carl Gustaf Lundin (1869-1965) joined the Baptist ranks in 1882 and ten years later enrolled as a student in Betelseminariet. Upon graduation from the seminary he became a pastor and served in subsequent years in this capacity in his native country in many important Baptist churches. In 1919 he entered upon a different type of ministry among the Baptists, first as Home Mission secretary and then in a similar office with the Foreign Mission society. Like others who have been mentioned previously, he took an active interest in matters pertaining to hymnody and hymnals and assisted significantly in the publication of the 1928 edition of Psalmisten. A number of his songs appear in this hymnal. Lundin was also a member of the committee which produced the inter-denominational hymnal Svensk Söngdaggsskolsångbok in 1929 in which several of his songs appear. He is also represented in the new Psalm och Sång of 1966 by several original hymns and translations.

Another denominational leader and hymnist of distinction among Swedish Baptists is Nils Johan Nordström (1880-1943). His schooling included study at John Ongman's Bible School in Örebro, Betelseminariet in Stockholm, and Uppsala School of Theology, and Northern Baptist Seminary in Chicago from which he received the Doctor of Theology degree in 1932. Nordström's ministry was broadened and enriched by extensive travel and studies in England, Canada, Greece, and Italy. He distinguished himself as a professor in the seminary in Stockholm for ten years, following which he became rector in 1927. On the local level Nordström rendered significant service in denominational affairs among the Baptists in Sweden as well as among other free-church groups. He was prominent as the author of a number of books, pamphlets, and articles, his chief interest being Baptist history and biographies. His wider interest in the world-wide Baptist cause brought him into responsible positions on the international level among the Baptists, particularly in the Baptist

World Alliance. As a member of the songbook committee from 1923-1928, he played an active part in the final revision and edition of Psalmisten to which he contributed a modest number of songs. Some originals and translations appear in Psalm och Sång.

Trygve Höglund (b. 1902) has been a well-known figure among the Baptists of Sweden for many years. Like so many of the earlier religious leaders he left the life of a fisherman and sailor, later to enter the Baptist ministry. After his training at Betelseminariet he became a missionary for the organization known as the "Skärgård Mission," and subsequent positions included several pastorates in Sweden. At the present time he is employed by the editorial staff of a newspaper in Uppsala. His literary productions included writings in newspapers and periodicals in which hymns and spiritual songs have appeared occasionally. Evidently the Christmas season has had great appeal to Höglund since several of his hymns deal with this theme. Included herewith are translated excerpts from three such hymns:

My Advent

In me buildest Thou Thy Kingdom
My heart is Thine own throne.
Thou dost make the sinner equal.
He inherits with God's Son.

Advent

Night-enfolded time is with us
And waiting light is lit.
Worldwide mind of childhood
Born anew in Advent.
Human longings find their meaning
In flick'ring candle lights.
Churches filled with people
At muted organ sound.

Christmas Night

Not heard
Where flock is resting
A sound in watch of night.
Just stirred
By lightest movement
From waft of gentle breeze
Is the light fold of shepherd's wide attire
As leaning pensively upon his staff he stands.

Simon Oberg (b. 1897) has made a significant contribution to the Baptists of Sweden through his pastoral ministry and his musical endeavors. Most recently he has served as secretary to the Swedish Free-Church Council, which is an interdenominational cooperative effort. Oberg composed many of the songs for the Swedish Youth Hymnal published in 1930 as well as four texts for Strangbandet (Stringband) which was also issued during the same period.

Oberg has shared the experience and background to the writing of one of his hymns which appears as number four in Psalm och Sång entitled "The Triune God." For twenty years he served as pastor of the "Tabernaklet" in Stockholm during which time he ministered to a very large group of Estonian refugees. The robust faith of these Estonians was a source of encouragement to their "adopted" pastor and from the inspiration he received by this association he wrote this hymn for their Easter Conference in 1946.

Gunnar Holm who was organist at the "Tabernaklet" made a choral arrangement of the hymn for mixed voices. It was subsequently sung by many choirs in Sweden in the early years after its publication. When Psalm och Sång was published Oberg's song was selected for this hymnal and P. E. Styf supplied the musical setting. A free translation of the first stanza indicates the general message of this hymn:

The people, O Lord, rejoice
That the powers of evil are frightened
And retreat at thy word;
Thou dost keep thine own,
Thy love explains everything,
Thou dost make known thy Holy Spirit.

Foremost among present day hymnists and song writers in Sweden is Rev. Erland Wendel-Hansen (b. 1916). He was born in Denmark where he received his early education and began his early literary career. In later years he moved to his mother's home country Sweden. After training for the ministry at Betelseminariet he pursued further study at the University of Stockholm in the history of religions and philosophy. Although he was taught at gymnasiums and Betelseminariet, his main ambition has been the pastoral ministry. He has been pastor of several prominent churches in Sweden and is at the present time pastor of the church in Bromma, a suburb of Stockholm.

Wendel-Hansen developed an interest in hymnody at a very early age and by the time he was eighteen years old he had written more than one hundred hymns or poems in Danish. After moving to Sweden he continued his interest in writing and translating hymns; however, with the exception of some short collections of spiritual poems in one or two anthologies and some numbers in the new Psalm och Sång he has published very few of his original works except as some have appeared occasionally in newspapers and periodicals. His other writings and publications include such topics as Christian baptism, biographies of religious leaders, the Bible, and Bible history.

According to his personal testimony in correspondence, he had ambitions to contribute to the new hymnal translations of hymns by foreign authors such as Bunyan, Spurgeon, Adoniram Judson and Köbner, but organization and editing of the book prohibited anything extensive in this category. His special interest has been in the production of baptismal hymns. In a letter to the writer he has expressed it thus:

> As a Baptist pastor and author, of course, I have a great interest in the special baptismal hymns. And in most of our Baptist hymnals, Scandinavian and others, except for Germany, I have felt the loss of a real gospel of baptism. It seems as if we Baptists have been afraid of emphasizing any deeper meaning of baptism than an act of confessing and imitating Christ. Look now at nr. 276: "I know a way to salvation." The Word has described it, and every soul wandering that way shall never go astray. It opens to every one, who believes in Jesus Christ, and surely it leads through the river of baptism to Heaven. And now as before, the Spirit urges everybody, who is seeking peace, to receive baptism in Jesus' name repenting. How blessed it is to descend with faith into the grave of baptism, throwing off the burden of sin, never to see it again. And then appear before God not in garments of our own but raised in the array of Christ, revived and risen.[9]

A free translation of the hymn gives insight to his particular view of baptism:

I know a way to blessedness,
It's written in the Word,
And ev'ry soul who treads that way
Will never go astray.

It open lies to each and all
Who trust in Jesus Christ,
And leads through baptism withal
Through heaven's gate at last.

The Spirit urgeth as of old
Each one who seeketh peace
To be baptized in Jesus' name
Repenting self therewith.

How blessed in baptismal grave
In faith be lowered down
And cast away sin's heavy load
Ne'er to be seen again.

---

[9] Letter from Rev. Erland Wendel-Hansen, Swedish Baptist Pastor, August 9, 1967.

And then appear before one's God,
Not in one's own attire,
But dressed in Jesus' righteousness
Arisen, waked from sleep.

My thanks to Thee, O Jesus Christ
For blest baptismal bath,
For that good way which leads at last
To heaven's golden gate.

The author readily admits that this is a rather new and startling view of baptism for a traditional Baptist. A representative of Svenska Missionsförbundet in reviewing the new Baptist hymnbook was somewhat perplexed at this interpretation of baptism by a Baptist pastor. As a result Wendel-Hansen was invited to defend his views as expressed in this hymn in the Svensk Veckotidning (The Covenant Post). His defense of this and other baptismal hymns in Psalm och Sång follows in part:

> In his perusal of the new all Baptist church songbook "Psalm och Sång" Oscar Lövgren has in "Svensk Veckotidning" particularly paid attention to baptismal songs and dwells especially on no. 276 "Jag vet an väg till salighet" (I know a way to blessedness), which he considers hazy, and sees in it an indication that the Baptists must have arrived at a considerably sacramental baptismal position.
>
> Now perhaps it could be said that Baptists in general should not be held responsible for one singular song; and after all it is not anonymous. With the Baptists as well as within "missionsförbundet" no Baptists readily can accept pedobaptism as a correct Christian baptism, which admittedly does not prevent them from receiving infant-baptized Christians.
>
> But the view of baptism among the Baptists varies from an exclusively symbolic interpretation of baptism by which faith, so to speak, becomes alone sufficient unto salvation, to a more sacramental (hardly sacramentarian) view, where one would rather regard faith and baptism as two complementing sides in--let us say--regeneration, without permitting their temporal place to be regarded as unimportant on this account. . . . With the editor's permission I will here quite briefly attempt to give the background for this psalm's birth and an analysis of its theology. Incidentally this will reveal, on the whole, my own position on the problem: Faith - baptism - salvation.

> The beginning may be sought in my earliest youth, when I began to wrestle with the spiritual questions. Even as a child--and I was not born in a Baptist home--I took strong exception to the message in a psalm by Grundtvig which often reappeared in the school's morning worship, the last line of which runs: "Our faith is our strong fortress; Its center is our hope; In it we receive the Father's Spirit by means of Jesus' child-baptism."
>
> I simply could not take it. To be sure, faith is introduced as a beginning. But how could it logically lead to pedo-baptism as a conclusion? This was to remain for me a conundrum. My spiritual development soon brought me to a Baptistic conviction, where baptism only received another place, but absolutely no loss of importance. As I even at that time, and perhaps oftener than I do now, jotted down my experiences and musings in verse, I then made my first outline for (based on) the psalm in question. The melody I set to the text was the same we had sung in the school with Grundtvig's words. Unfortunately it did not become possible for the song book committee to use it instead of the version published in "Psalm och Sång". . . The attentive listener can hardly mistake the intent of the message in the psalm.
>
> In reality there is one way which leads to blessedness, and that way is clearly depicted in God's Word. It begins with faith in Jesus Christ, and it leads through water baptism - and reaches its conclusion in heaven!
>
> From a purely logical viewpoint I can state it this way: The way of salvation is neither identical with the faith nor with the baptism. But I can neither discover it and begin to walk in it, and all the less continue to walk in it apart from faith. Moreover the way of salvation is not the baptism. But that way even from the start leads through baptism.
>
> If the psalm seems hazy to some I hope it is not so to all. It is a poor consolation that not even the Gospels are fully clear to all in this respect, in spite of efforts to clarify.[10]

In addition to the need for stronger interpretive hymns on baptism Wendel-Hansen has expressed his hope that in the future new hymns might appear in other neglected subjects.

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[10] Free translation--Wendel-Hansen, Veckotidning.

> Last but not least, in our Swedish hymnbooks I have always felt the lack of hymns about the life of Jesus as a human being, as well as popular morning and evening songs as we have them in Denmark from the hands and hearts of Grundtvig and Ingemann and others. I have written one or two hymns in their way and have also translated hymns of theirs. The morning hymn no. 605 "The dark night is over," may be an example. But it seems to me as if it were here a big field, and I wonder, if it could be a call and a challenge to some Christian poet to seek God in the earthly life of Jesus and not only in his divine birth, his mystical death and supernatural appearance, and to seek Christ not only in the frame of the Holy Land but also in the lands and lives of ours.[11]

Even though some of the hymns suggested by Wendel-Hansen were not included in Psalm och Sång, his ability as a hymn writer and translator is duly recognized because of an appreciable number of his originals and translations in this volume.

The official songbook for the Baptist denomination in Sweden and the Örebro Mission is Psalm och Sång published in 1966. The former songbook of the Baptists was Psalmisten which went through several revisions and editions from 1880 until 1928 when the last edition was published. Even though, as has been mentioned, Psalmisten was received with a spirit of relative indifference in 1880, it did continue to be the official praise book of the Baptists until the recently-published hymnal came off the press.

The Örebro Mission's Andliga Sånger was first published in 1931 and in an enlarged edition in 1935. It was intended for use in revival meetings in a broad sense, but was accepted as the official hymnal within the Örebro church. The 1931 collection contains 253 numbers while the later edition numbers 525 hymns and gospel songs. The foreword to Andliga Sånger declares its aim and purpose:

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[11] Wendel-Hansen, loc. cit.

> The song collection here under consideration has as its chief objective that of serving the evangelistic work. We hope, namely, that yet many thousands of dearly redeemed souls will be won for God's kingdom, and that the mighty wave of spiritual renewal, which more than a couple of decades has swept forth among God's people shall find its way to yet greater hosts of people during the brief period of time that yet may remain before Jesus comes. To the furtherance of this glorious work of grace this songbook would be of service.
>
> . . . Some of the songs are weak from the theoretical viewpoint, but since they have for a long time been well known and preferably sung by both the older and the younger among God's people, they were included in the selection of melodies, known and easily sung melodies have been preferred to the more difficult ones, even if the latter from a purely musical viewpoint could have been of greater worth. Our effort has been to include the most practical and usable and exclude what infallibly would have become "dead material."[12]

The scope of the contents is indicated by the table of contents:

Assembly and prayer
Revival and invitation
Golgotha songs
Sanctification
Assurance and jubilation
Labor and missions
God's people's future prospects
Solos
For special occasions

From the close of the 1950's there has been agitation and discussion concerning the possibility of a revision of the Örebro hymnal and the combining with Psalmisten for a common Baptist hymnal. In the ensuing years groundwork and exploration were carried on in the interest of a new book. The foreword to Psalm och Sång explains the proceedings:

> The renewal of the Christian treasure in song which takes place continually and which was especially marked in our land during the 1930's and the 1940's

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[12] Andliga Sånger, (Örebro, Örebro Missions förenings Förlag, 1931). From the Foreword.

> made actual again the need of new song books. From the Örebro Mission was brought forward the thought of a common song book for immersionist people, a proposal which, however, could not be actualized. The general conference of the Baptist denomination at its meeting in 1953 took action to solve the question regarding a revision of *Psalmisten*. At the same time inquiry was to be made as to the possibility of cooperation in the matter with the Orebro Mission, which had a song book committee already at work. The committee with representatives from both sides, eventually was appointed, began to function in the autumn of 1956.
>
> The starting point for the work of the song book committee has been *Psalmisten* and *Andliga Sånger*, which have been scrutinized most carefully in order to keep the best. From other song books, Swedish and also foreign, some rich material has been selected. Some texts and melodies are new, or have not heretofore been used as church song. To be rendered more satisfactory formally certain songs have been revised. In regard to the chorales, regard has been paid to the latest research, and a number of melodies have been brought back to their original form.
>
> . . . The new hymnal, between the covers of which are also found a selection of Bible texts for responsive reading, has been given the name *Psalm och Sång*. This says something about the breadth and varied character of its contents and the possibilities for the song book for service in different situations. It is our hope as well as that of churches and individuals, that in it they will find expression for praise and aspiration, for testimony and eagerness to serve.[13]

The new hymnal *Psalm och Sång* is the latest expression of the hopes and aspirations of the Baptists of Sweden represented in the conferences of the two groups involved in its publication. This writer was present at the conference sessions in Stockholm in June of 1966 when the new hymnal was presented and dedicated. It was received with great enthusiasm and a spirit of anticipation. Only time will tell how it will "wear" among the congregations of both groups. The contents of this volume are analyzed in some detail in the next chapter.

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[13] *Psalm och Sång* (Stockholm: Svenska Baptistsamfundet och Örebromissionen, 1966). Foreword to the book.

In addition to the official denominational hymnbooks of Swedish Baptists there appeared two auxiliary hymnals for special use in which the Baptists had a direct and a corporate interest respectively. In 1919 they published a hymnal for revival and youth meetings entitled *Samlingstoner*. The need for such a hymnal had been felt for a long time, and its publication grew out of a number of smaller and inadequate hymn booklets which were published over a period of time. A committee was appointed in 1918 and a year later the hymnal was released for its intended use. Its contents for the most part are of the type of the American gospel song.

In the summer of 1925 a committee was appointed by the Baptists, Missionförbundet, and the Methodists for the publishing of a joint hymnal for use in the Sunday schools of Sweden. A year later the Evangelical Fosterland Foundation and the Swedish Alliance each added two representatives to the committee. The result of this committee's work was the *Svensk Söndagsskolbok* of 1929, so named because of its intended use as a song book for the children of Swedish Sunday schools. Compiled primarily for the younger set it has been used to good advantage for children and young people in both home and church.

The Hymnody of the Free-Baptists of Sweden

The Free-Baptist denomination in Sweden was founded and organized by Helge Åkeson. He studied for the Lutheran ministry but through his own understanding of the Bible he came to the Baptist position on the concept of the church and baptism. He joined the Baptists in 1857 and soon became a preacher among them. Because some within the Baptist tradition considered his doctrine of the atonement of Christ to be heretical according to Baptist theology, he was excluded from the fellowship and thus the denomination of Free-Baptists was formed in 1872.

One doctrine propounded by Åkeson and his followers was that of an ultimate restoration of everyone after God's judgment has been meted out. This borders on Universalism and was unacceptable to the "hard core" Baptists. The Free-Baptists met with strong opposition due to their stand against the bearing of arms and active participation in war. Many were subjected to prison terms, but because of their persistent stand, laws were subsequently enacted which allowed for the fulfillment of military obligations without actual combat service.

At present there are about forty separate congregations of Free-Baptists in Sweden, each one independent in itself. A mission board handles questions of common interest and at the annual meeting each member is entitled to vote.

Although there are several hymnals by the same name in Sweden, the official organ of praise of the Free-Baptists is Pilgrimstoner. The first song book was published in 1886 under the title Pilgrims Cittran. It contained 380 songs and was issued in six editions. The book was revised in 1913 and at this time the name was changed to Pilgrimstoner. It contained a total of 560 selections. About one-half of the songs were written by Free-Baptist authors. Like so many other Swedish hymn-books, a considerable number of the songs contained therein are based on Swedish songs previously published in Sweden or from American sources. The music edition of Pilgrimstoner was published in 1915 and a revised edition of both text and music was issued in 1957 containing 560 selections.

From among the many authors whose hymns appear in Pilgrimstoner several are worth noting for their contribution to this hymnal. Foremost among them is Anders Hansson (1863-1925). As a youth he joined the Free Baptist Church and for a number of years served as an itinerant preacher. He edited the official publication of his denomination, "Upplysningens Vän," (The Friend of Enlightenment) from 1894 to 1916. He began to write hymns and sacred songs early in life, and in Pilgrims Cittran about seventy of his original poems were used in musical settings. In Pilgrimstoner of 1913 his poems number approximately 150, eighty-two of which were included in the 1957 edition. Lövgren in his biographical sketch of Hansson has observed that his songs bear the mark of the influence from English and American song writers, whose songs began to infiltrate into Scandinavia during the 1880's.[14] Even though Hansson severed his connections with the Free Baptists in 1925, his songs have made a lasting contribution to the worship of that group.

Another hymn writer of prominence among the Free Baptists is Erik Eriksson (1879-1918). Even though he did not identify himself as a preacher in a formal way, Eriksson did serve frequently in that capacity among the Free-Baptist churches in Sweden. When Pilgrimstoner was published in 1913 he took an active part in this work which was actually a revision of the old Pilgrims Cittran. The contents included thirty original texts and revisions by Eriksson. Some of his originals had formerly appeared in "Upplysningens Vän." Nine original songs by him were selected for use in the 1957 revision and edition of Pilgrimstoner.

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[14] Lövgren, Lexikon, p. 263.

Joel S. Friden (b. 1890) joined the Free-Baptist denomination in 1906 and he has been a preacher among them since 1914. In 1944 he became editor for the denominational paper "Upplysingen Vän." As a song writer and composer he had a large share in the compilation of Evangeliska Toner in 1937 and the 1957 edition of Pilgrimstoner. Thirteen of his hymns appear in the latter book:

1. Kom, o Gud, med kraft fran höjden
   Come, O God with pow'r from h-vn

2. Det finns en lycka some ej försvinner
   There is a joy which never ceases

3. Fatta beslutet, du t ekande hjärta
   Hesitant heart, do make your decision

4. Dig vi nu lova, o Fader i höjden
   Father in heaven, now we are praising Thee

5. Framåt, frälsta skara, fram i Jesus spår.
   Forward, O saved people, Forward in His steps

6. Hör nu, min vän, jag till dig har en hälsning
   Listen, my friend, I for you have a greeting

7. Fraft fran höjden, så han sade
   From on high comes pow'r, said Jesus

8. Med Jesus farm på livets stig
   With Jesus forward on life's path

9. O hur ljuvt ljöd ej sånger i Sion en gång
   How blest the singing sounded in Zion one time

10. Ur djupet jag ropar, O herre, till dig
    From the deep do I cry, O Lord unto Thee

11. Dyre Jesus, du som känner
    O dear Jesus, Thou who knowest

12. Jesus, du är livets bröd
    Jesus, Thou art bread of Life

13. Nu idag en årgräns du paserar
    Now today a milestone you are passing[15]

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[15] Ibid., pp. 207, 208.

The Free-Baptists seemed to have engendered real inspiration for poetry among their members since a sizeable number have contributed to the hymnody of this particular denomination. Detailed biographical material is unavailable; however, Lövgren has supplied enough information in his "Lexikon" for thumb-nail sketches of many Free-Baptist hymnists, most of whom contributed two or more hymns during the past several years. As these sketches reveal, these hymnists came from many walks of life.

Anders Anderson (1867-1921) served as a missionary in South Africa for the Free-Baptist denomination.

N. Olof Anderson (1866-1937) was a tailor by trade but also a respected song writer in the Free-Baptist Church.

Hilda Cedarholm (1866-1928), a member of the Free-Baptist Church in Furaboda, contributed four hymns to the 1913 Pilgrimstoner.

Daniel Johan Danielson (1851-1910), a farmer from Lau in Gotland, contributed four hymns to Pilgrims Cittran of 1886.

Fredrika Jonsson (1856-1905) was a school teacher and a member of the Free-Baptist Church in Hova. A wedding hymn and one on the Bible appeared in Pilgrimstoner of 1913.

Lisa Jonsson (1869-1908), a school teacher by profession and missionary in South Africa, is best known for her hymn on practical holiness.

Mats Karlsson (1855-1916) was a Free-Baptist pastor and hymn writer from Leksand. His hymns have been used in both Pilgrims Cittran and Pilgrimstonder.

Doris Lundgren (b. 1903) has been both an evangelist and children's missionary. Both hymnals, Evangeliska Toner (1937) and Pilgrimstoner (1957) contain several of her hymns.

Axel Teodor Nordstrom (1863-1944) served as pastor in several churches of his denomination and was active in its work in America as well. Pilgrimstoner contains two of his hymns.

Mattias Strömberg (d. 1900) is well represented in both the early and later hymnals by several of his hymns. He was both a popular preacher and song writer among the Free Baptists.

Johan Teodor Vesterberg (1859-1926) was active in the Free Baptist Church in Stockholm from 1887. Four of his hymns were selected for inclusion in Pilgrimstoner.

Gustav Östman (1867-1953) was a leading personality among the Free Baptists of Sweden. Until 1892 he served as a hired man and tiller of the soil, then became a miner until 1899. At the turn of the century he became a traveling preacher within the Free-Baptist group and in 1916 assumed the editorship of "Lilla Missionären." He was one of the most prolific writers and song composers in his denomination. Eight of his hymns are to be found in Pilgrimstoner.

Two observations are in order concerning the hymnody of the Free Baptists of Sweden. From the translations of titles and first lines of many of their hymns, it appears that their stand against conscription for military service as well as their doctrine of the possibility of a universal reconciliation have not been overly enunciated in their hymnody. Also noticeable is the exclusion of their hymns from the latest Baptist hymnal of Sweden, Psalm och Sång. One could come to the conclusion that they are not in too good standing with the regular Baptists, although hymns of several of the latter group are to be found in Pilgrimstoner.

Hymnody of the Swedish Missionsförbund

Svenska Missionsförbundet was formed in 1878. As has been previously pointed out, the break came when certain students in the mission school of Evangeliska Fosterlandstiftelsen began to propagate Waldenström's theory of the atonement which was Arminian in theology. These students were refused appointments as missionaries under the society. A number of small groups adhered quite strongly to Waldenström's theories and celebrated communion among themselves apart from the State Church in spite of repeated warnings of the consequences. Waldenström and his followers were expelled from the society, and thus the new Missionsförbundet was organized and it experienced rapid growth and expansion. Within the ranks of this new denomination were many gifted song writers who contributed greatly to the hymnody of the free-church movement in Scandinavia.

One of the most richly endowed of this group of hymnists was Joel Blomqvist (1840-1930). He was born into the home of a tailor in Stockholm who frequented the small free "spiritual circles" of that city. At the age of nineteen Blomqvist moved to the city of Uppsala where he received employment in the shop of a gold painter, Carl Widman. This man was connected with the so-called "Widmanian Hall" where a small group of believers met for spiritual worship, edification, and sharing. In a short time Blomqvist joined their ranks and served as organist and song leader for their meetings. He traveled on preaching missions with the group from Uppsala, playing and singing his own songs as well as those of others in the group.

He became recognized early as an outstanding musician, author and composer. In 1876 he published a small collection of his own compositions entitled Kanaan. In 1874 Blomqvist accepted a position with the Uppsala City Mission. During the early years in this association he wrote a number of new hymns, both texts and melodies, which he compiled into a collection called Sabbatsbockan published in 1877. The music edition was issued in 1878 containing fifty of his originals. Many of these, which are still in use in present-day Swedish hymnals, deal with such subjects as the Sabbath day, the life of spiritual devotion, advent, revival, and youth. His songs were extremely popular in the pietistic revivals in Sweden. The year 1857 was a time of great productivity in writing for Blomqvist. He testifies to unusual inspiration during this time and the urge to write as many as five or six songs in one day.

His song collection of 1877 was followed by another entitled Fridstoner, containing only twenty-five numbers. In 1883 he published a small edition of Nya Sånger and in 1889 his hymnal for youth, Ungdomstoner.

Lövgren describes the style and content of his hymns thus:

> Blomqvist in his song writing never makes lyrical excursions beyond the bounds of reality. Neither is for him dogmatic orthodoxy of greatest importance. At the time of doctrinal controversy he had his own dogmatic views; but these he kept in the background. For him there are more important things to be put first. His songs bespeak a struggling and praying soul. He feels how the will and the mind are weighed down with the many things of the world. He longs and prays and agonizes and strives to overcome that which weighs down the wings of his soul and sullies the spiritual garment. Many of his songs can be characterized as prayer and sanctification songs. He preaches in the first instance to his own soul, "Separate thyself more completely unto God; leave all in His hands and for His service." He also has a message for those who have not yet begun to walk in God's pathway. From the beginning of the 1880's he devoted himself entirely to song and preaching. His singing was noted for liveliness, captivating power and heartiness--so goes the testimony of his son.[16]

When Missionförbundet was organized, E. J. Ekman (1842-1915) served as its chairman. During his ministry in Ockelbo, he had been greatly exercised in his own conscience concerning serving communion to those without spiritual discernment, even though they had been confirmed. This situation precipitated his break with the State Church. In 1879 he withdrew from the ministry and became the principal of a mission school in Kristineham. This position was followed by his assuming the post as Mission Superintendent and editor for Missionsförbundet. When in later years he deviated from the doctrine of eternal punishment and leaned toward Universalism he was compelled to withdraw from his position with

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[16] Lövgren, op. cit., III, p. 239.

Missionsförbundet. Although he was not a song writer of great distinction he did publish a collection called Fridsbasunen in 1884 which contained some of the few numbers which he wrote. Among these are two hymns on heaven and eternal rest. Lövgren remarks that "it seems remarkable that this strong-willed and powerful man could write songs of such mild-minded resignation."[17]

Another minister of Missionförbundet who was noted as a compiler of hymns as well as a poet is Anders G. Floden. Born in 1883 in Västergötland he came to America in 1914 where he pursued theological studies and became a Missionsförbund pastor in Duluth and Winnipeg. During an interim period in Sweden, 1919-1921, he served as an evangelist with both the Pentecostals and his own denomination. While in America Floden published a songbook, Klocktoner. The second and third editions of this collection were published in Sweden in 1930. The book comprises forty selections most of which are by Floden. One of his songs has a particularly captivating title "Varförbygger du Noa en båt?" (Why Are You Building, O Noah, a Boat?)

Johan A. Gustafson (b. 1889) has distinguished himself in Missionsförbundet as a pastor, editor, denominational secretary, and hymn writer. Foremost among his contributions to the hymnody of the free churches of Scandinavia has been his significant work as chairman of the committee for Sånger och Psalmer, his denomination's latest hymnal. Gustafson has been a diligent writer of meditations, novels, poems, and hymns. He describes his method of writing as similar to his inspiration for the preparation of a sermon: first a theme, perhaps the line of a verse relative to a spiritual experience, sometimes after meditation, but usually in connection with some appealing melody.[18] The following English translations of some of his titles and first lines give an idea of the scope of his hymn texts:

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[17] Lövgren, Lexikon, p. 171.

> Bore you my burden, suffered for me.
> God is my refuge, fortress and strength.
> Hear me when my heart is crying.
> Abide the glow of morning.
> Speak to me, dear Savior.
> Just as of old He travels.
> Thrust thy own truth into my inmost self.

In addition to his work as a hymnologist, Oscar Lövgren (b. 1899) has made a lasting contribution to the free-church hymnody by his several hymns, among which is the one on baptism, entitled "För dopets helga gåva" (For the baptismal gift). It had long been Lövgren's desire for a hymn about baptism that could be sung at baptismal services regardless of the age of the candidates. (His interest in baptismal hymns has already been pointed out in connection with the work of Rev. Wendel-Hansen.) This hymn was revised by the author for the hymnal, Sånger och Psalmer in 1950. His interest in hymnody is shown by his distinguished work as secretary of the committee for the above-named hymnal. Free-church hymnody is deeply indebted to him for his three-volume work and the Lexikon used in this study, as well as other works in hymnology.

Foremost among the hymn writers of Missionsförbundet was Nils Frykman (1842-1911). As a public school teacher in Norrköping he was caught up in the revival spirit of the 1860's and in time became active in the affairs of the church and revival meetings. Until the age of thirty-three Frykman had never penned a song, but the revival activities in Sweden stimulated his capabilities along this line and in a short time his unusual poetic gifts were recognized by those with whom he was associated. His career as a hymnist began with his revisions of some of the older songs, which then led him to produce some of his own. One of his first originals appeared in the paper "Wermlands Allehanda" in 1876.

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[18] Ibid., p. 255.

This was a time of religious upheaval in Sweden. Crowds of believers and seekers gathered in farmhouses where they preached, prayed, and sang of their faith and the desire for a fuller spiritual experience. In such an atmosphere Frykman drew his inspiration for his countless songs which he was to write. The mood of the revival may be sensed in the following lines from some of his well-known hymns, which are still included in Swedish and American hymnals:

> Everyone can be saved, if to God he turneth.
> This command, straight from God, holds for every nation.
> Our mighty God works mighty wonders.
> Jesus' precious bride, wouldst thou reach the haven?
> I am content and happy,
> I now can freely breathe.

Most of these songs were written around 1881 at the time Frykman had been warned of his possible excommunication as a public schoolteacher for his Waldenströmian views on the atonement and the Lord's supper. His "Luther-like" determination is seen in a stanza of one of his hymns in a free English translation:

Let Satan roar on freely, and let the world assist,
I'll not before them tremble; God's purpose will prevail,
God's Word will be victorious, and so will everyone
Who's under the Savior's command.

In time Frykman resigned his teaching position under pressure because of his obvious deviation from the teachings of the State Church. Now and again he brushed with the law over his lack of loyalty to the church, but in process of time, like many reformers, he won his case and was exonerated of the charges. Songs vital to his faith continued to flow from his pen and find their place in the hearts of many in the free church.

Near the close of 1887 Frykman received a call to become pastor of the Swedish Mission Tabernacle in Chicago, which call he accepted. After assuming this new post he continued to write songs and hymns for the Swedish people. In 1897 he published a small collection of some thirty-five numbers called Harpoklangen (Harp Chimes). In Sions Basun, an early hymnal of the Mission Covenant Church in America, a number of Frykman's hymns are to be found. These testify to his popularity as a hymn writer in America.

Frykman moved to Minnesota in 1889 where he served five small churches in the Covenant denomination. In 1907 he retired to Minneapolis where he remained until his death in 1911.

Andreas Fernholm (1840-1892) was to experience a checkered career as far as his church affiliation was concerned. After graduation from the theological department of Uppsala University he was ordained to the Lutheran ministry in 1866. Prior to his ordination he became assistant to H. J. Lundborg in Grythyttan from whom he received deep religious impressions. Fernholm also became acquainted with free-church ideas through his mentor who had visited in England for a time. After serving two short pastorates he returned to Grythyttan following the death of Lundborg. At this time he prepared the way for the breakthrough of the free church by encouraging the formation of communion societies. In 1871 he left his pastorate to establish a school for lay preachers in Kristineharn. The following year he retired from the ministry of the State Church.

Fernholm's views on church polity led him to the Baptist denomination. After an active ministry of several years among Swedish Baptists he joined Missionsförbundet in 1880 because of his view of atonement which was similar to that held by Waldenström. His previous journalistic activity aided him greatly in the publishing of Forbündet which he jointly edited with E. J. Ekman. There followed for him several opportunities for the editing and publishing of other journals and periodicals.

Fernholm's efforts in the field of hymnody earned for him a place of distinction among free-church hymnists. In 1873 he published a collection of songs on baptism which reveal that he was well-versed in the Baptist view on this ordinance. While serving as co-editor with Ekman he wrote a baptismal hymn for Ekman's songbook, Fridsbasunen. This hymn was so written that it could serve for either adult or child baptism. His best-known hymn is the one based on the parable of the sower:

Låt våra ögon upp, o Gud,
Att vi dit ord må fatta
(Open our eyes, O gracious God,
That we the word may fathom.)

Although Johan Erik Nystrom (1842-1907) never actually held membership in Missionsförbundet, he did play an important part in its hymnody, particularly in the compilation of its songbook. He maintained a close working relationship with this denomination even in the capacity of an official missionary.

Nystrom was born to pietistic parents who identified themselves with the Scott-Rosenius group in Stockholm. After considerable struggle for an education he did attain to the Doctor of Philosophy degree in 1866, with a major in Greek. During one of the enforced interruptions in his schooling he came into contact with the Baptists in Stockholm and in time identified himself with them. He became an instructor at the Baptist seminary in 1867, and in the meantime edited a Bible concordance which gained wide acceptance and passed through many editions.

Like Fernholm, he eventually severed connections with the Baptists because of his views on open communion. After missionary work in Beirut, Lebanon, he returned to Sweden in 1881 to serve subsequently with Missionförbundet, after another short term of service with the Baptists. This new affiliation led him into missionary service in North Africa where he died in July of 1907.

Although Nystrom became a hymnist in his own right, his main interest and talent lay in translation and publication. The songs of the American, Ira Sankey, captivated the free-church groups in Scandinavia and many translations were made of these songs. Nystrom had unusual success in these translations. His collection of the Sankey songs, known as Sånger till Lammets Lof, went through ten successive editions with the addition of many new songs, principally by Sankey. Its popularity was attested by the publication of three editions in 1875; the last edition of 1881 contained 292 selections. This was without question Nystrom's first work of importance in Swedish hymnody. His second work of significance was the Svenska Missionsförbundet Sångbok of 1894, which occupied most of his time on furlough in 1892-93. More will be said concerning this volume and Nystrom's relationship to its publication later in this chapter.

Selma Sundelius Lagerström (1869-1927) was one of the most prolific of women hymn writers in Missionsförbundet. Her early home life was anything but pleasant as she was subjected at times to her father's violent and cruel treatment. For some time she visited in the nearby manse at Torsby in order to escape from him. In this situation she came in touch with the evangelical revival and in time became stabilized in her religious faith. Early in the 1880's she came to live with the Hultkranz family in the Gillberga parish and while there met Johannes Lagerström whom she subsequently married. After their marriage the Lagerströms settled in Kristineham and later in Stockholm.

Mrs. Lagerström's literary talents were put to use early in the service of Christian hymnody. Some of her first songs appeared in the collection, Fridsbasunen of 1882, published by E. J. Ekman. Her well known Easter hymn "Christ is Living" was contained in the 1884 edition of the same hymnal. Several of her songs first appeared in the paper Sanningsvittnet in successive issues. The following list of first lines in translation are a cross section of the subjects upon which she wrote her hymns:

> Joyful news comes from Jesus to his precious bride.
> Jesus, make me still contented.
> "I'm coming soon," so Jesus said.
> Yes, your names are written up in heaven.

Soon the great eternal portals open quietly for me.[19]

In 1896 she published her own collection of songs, Blommar i törnbräcken (Flowers in the Thorn Hedge), a title which was appropriate for her own life and experience. The gloom and sadness of her early life returned in later years to plague Mrs. Lagerström and these experiences found expression in the sacred verse which came from her pen. Although troubled by a recurrence of childhood gloom and saddness, nevertheless through the medium of her poetry, she was able to express her faith in divine Providence.

A hymn writer of great note in Missionsförbundet was Carl Boberg (1859-1940). Like others he was caught up in the evangelical awakening of his day and became one of its outstanding teachers and preachers, with a special appeal to Swedish youth. In addition to his unusual ability in this area, his gift for writing manifested itself early. In 1889 when the preacher and editor of Sanningsvittnet, P. A. Palmer, died, Boberg was asked to assume the editorship of this popular and influential publication. He had served on the staff since 1882. His influence in government was felt in the service which he rendered as a member of the Riksdag's first chamber from 1911 until 1924.

Boberg began to write religious verse while a student at Kristinehamn. His first poem to be published was the well known song, "Look up, O weary hard-pressed brother." Others of his early songs found their way into the first collection of Fridsbasunen, among them his communion hymn, "O Lamb of God, for us so freely offered." One of the stanzas of this hymn, now eliminated in later books, expresses the motivation for the private observance of the communion outside of the State Church:

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[19] Lövgren, op. cit., III, pp. 292, 293.

> O Savior, now because of Bible precept,
> We gather all around thy precious table,
> Remembering thy death for us.[20]

Another area of controversy which engaged his attention was Waldenström's theory of the atonement of Christ. His alignment with Waldenström resulted in continual warning from some of his friends. His youthful courage and assurance in the rightness of his stand is expressed in his hymn which begins:

> David sang, "The Lord's my helper,"
> So I also now can sing.

Two seasons of the church year, Advent and Easter, provided Boberg with the inspiration for expression in sacred song. He also produced hymns on a variety of other subjects and moods: evening hymns, sorrow and joy, funeral and baptismal hymns, devotional life, and heaven. The unusually large number of songs in the current hymnal of Missionsförbundet testifies to his popularity as a hymnist. His style of writing is summarized by Lövgren:

> Boberg's songs show clarity in thinking, simplicity in composition, romantic feeling and language rich in symbols. In easy rhyme he proclaims God's unending grace and goodness. His verse is very singable. Seldom does one find a word that disturbs the ear. Very little does he say about God's holiness and serious demands. He has a tendency to spread out without going deeply. His fine lyrical precision and poetic feeling rendered him most efficient as a member in song book committees.[21]

The events and work which led up to the publication of Sånger och Psalmer, the official hymnal of Svenska Missionsförbundet, provide an appropriate close to our study of the hymnody of this denomination.

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[20] Ibid., p. 319.

[21] Ibid., p. 333.

When the denomination was formed in 1878 a number of small collections were in use by the mission churches and societies which were to merge into the one large group. Among these song books were some well known titles: Pilgrim Sånger (Palmquist's), Andeliga Sånger (Ahnfelt), Sabbatsklockan (Blomqvist), Sånger till Lammets lof (Nystrom) and Fridsbasunen (Ekman). All of these collections were published by private concerns and there was a strong desire that the new church should have a hymnal distinctly its own. The matter was discussed in the conference in 1891 but it was not until 1892 that the project was taken up in a serious and spirited manner under the direction of Erik Nyström. Nyström was entrusted with the main responsibility of bringing a brand new book to publication. Svenska Missionsförbundets Sångbok was in print in 1893 but was not officially presented to the church until 1894.

The difficulties in compiling and publishing the new hymnal were considerable since Nyström was not able to use translations of familiar hymns which had been used formerly by other publishing houses. In many instances he had to make entirely new translations. Cases in point were his own translations of the Sankey songs and some of the well-known songs of Lina Sandell. Consequently he had to make new translations of songs translated by him earlier. Many other Swedish originals were revised by Nyström with measurable success. This procedure produced a splintering in the field of sacred song but no alternative was opened to the committee because high purchase rights prohibited any other course of action.

In spite of these adverse circumstances Nyström and the committee produced a book of considerable worth to Missionsförbundet. It was never his intention or desire to produce merely an anthology of sacred song but rather a book of suitable texts and melodies for use in the various services of the church. This he succeeded in doing and the end result, according to Lövgren, was comparable to the Wallin Psalmbook. The book contained 703 selections and was printed in a total of 693,500 copies. The music edition numbered 37,250 copies.

As early as 1901 the question was raised concerning a revision of the new hymnal. Many felt that more of the "läsare" songs should be included. The revision did not appear, however, until 1920. It contained a total of 782 selections with the addition of 350 songs, many of which were not new. Most of those added came from Sankey's Sånger and Hemlandstoner. A total of 548,000 copies of the revision were printed and 25,000 of the music edition.

During the period 1939-1944 a number of discussions were carried on regarding the production of a common hymnal for use at least with the Swedish Baptists and the Methodist denomination. Nothing materialized from these deliberations, and the 1920 song book came up for revision instead. A process of elimination and addition resulted in the use of new hymns, many of which came from Psalmboken. A free translation of the Foreword of the new publication Sånger och Psalmer describes its contents and design:

> Sånger och Psalmer now before us with text as well as music succeeds the music edition of Svenska Missionsförbundet published in 1921. By and large it builds on the same material. But when 258 numbers in the old song book have been left out and 263 new songs have been added the deviation from the old one is considerable.
>
> The old songs have as a rule been allowed to retain their old melodies. In some instances, however, substitution has seemed necessary, when the old melodies

> have proven too difficult and have rendered the use of otherwise good song texts impossible. In some instance melodies have been substituted when they have been entirely unsuitable. Thus as a rule the national song melodies have had to give place to more suitable ones. The effort to retain in the greatest possible degree the melodies which of old have belonged to the texts has resulted in the retention of some melodies that the committee for musical reasons wished to eliminate.
>
> The melodies which Sånger och Psalmer have in common with Svenska Psalmboken have usually been kept unchanged. But deviations have, however, been made in regard to melodies which the Choral Book Committee took over from the Swedish revival circles and in that process did some revisions in a choralizing direction. The melodies not taken from the Choral Book have usually been re-harmonized by the Committee. In certain instances the melodies have been re-rhythmetized to make them suitable as congregational songs. In place of the chorus arrangement in the old book they have here been set to notes for the organ. A number of melodies have been transposed to a more suitable key.
>
> The committee has striven to make the songs as singable and playable as possible. A dotted line in the music indicates place for prelude.
>
> A valuable consideration is that in this book the music has all the way through been supplied for every song. Reference to other numbers have thus not been needed. In that all verses of the song text have the music throughout the annonyance of having music and text separated is eliminated.[22]

Hymnody of the Swedish Methodists

The contribution of Swedish Methodists to Scandinavian hymnody has been modest in comparison with those of other denominations but of no less significance. The development of the Methodist Church in Sweden has already been set forth in Chapter Two in the work of Olaf and Jonas Hedström, the two brothers, the latter of whom became the pioneer and founder of Swedish Methodism in the United States. Victor Witting

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[22] Sånger och Psalmer (Stockholm: Missionsförbundets Förlag, 1951). Foreword to the book.

(1825-1906) has also been indicated as having had great influence in the development of the Swedish Methodist Church in his homeland and also in America.

Witting's career as a leader in Methodism was carried on intermittently in both Sweden and the United States. Among his several duties in the latter country, he served as editor of the Swedish-American Methodist periodical, Sändebudet. In 1869 he made what was to have been a brief visit to Sweden but after his arrival he became intensely involved in the work among Swedish Methodists as one of the early pioneers.

Witting was a diligent writer particularly in the religious field, and was especially active in writing and translating hymns and gospel songs. He was not a poet of any great consequence even though he contributed many usable poems. Many of his songs have had to be revised through the years for their continued use. Three of his original songs which appear in the Methodist "Psalmbok" have been popular with the people of his denomination; two of them deal with the joy of spiritual certainty. The opening lines of each are as follows:

> "Hear, oppressed, cast your look upon God's Lamb, who
> bears your sins."

and

> "Thanks and praise to Thee, O Jesus!
> Thou didst save my sinful soul."

In 1870 he published his missionary hymn which begins

> "Oh say, can you see what His promises mean?"

Jacob Th. Jacobsson (1840-1912) was born in Gotland and as a young boy settled in Klintehamn where he conducted his own business enterprise. A later move took him to Kalmar where he became an ironmonger and as serious a student as time would permit. In his early years he joined the Methodist church in which he engaged in devoted and faithful service. He became a lay preacher while still carrying on business pursuits. His preaching included the area of temperance and he was instrumental in the formation of temperance societies in Sweden. He was a frequent lecturer in America also.

Jacobsson was a sedulous and talented writer. His works include a large number of poems and songs with sacred text all in the interest of Christianity and temperance. Many of his works, including his songs, were translated into English and widely circulated among interested people. His burial song appeared in the periodical "Lilla Sändebudet" on May 11, 1882, and has been one of the best known and widely used of its kind, appearing at the present time in several Swedish hymnals. Its opening lines set the victorious note characteristic of the entire hymn:

> "War is now ended,
> You have won the battle."

According to Lövgren, Jacobsson's best known and most highly prized hymns were those written to be sung just prior to the sermon. One of these found its way into Svenska Psalmboken as well as several other hymnals. One stanza shows its practicality for such usage:

> O Holy Father, come Thou and be near us
> Cause us to feel the power of Thy teaching.
> Thou, who canst give us more than we are asking,
> Hear us, O Father!

Carl August Stenholm (1843-1884), although a bookbinder by trade, engaged in an active ministry among the Methodists of Sweden. Early his talents for service in the church became manifest, foremost among which were his speaking ability and his capacity for writing. One of his early assignments was in the city of Norrköping where he engaged in pioneer work for the cause of Methodism. His subsequent labors were carried on in Göteborg and Jönköping. His writing ability led him to become editor of the periodical "Lilla Sändebudet." Stenholm visited in America and for a short period of time was pastor in Illinois. He never felt quite at home in a foreign land and upon his return to Sweden assumed preaching in several cities.

Two songs in the Methodist "Psalmbok" are originals of Stenholm. Their respective opening lines are:

"Healthful fountain, flowing from the throne of grace,"

and

"Oh, come to the fountain, whose waters rush forth."

It is presumed that he is the author of a rather serious song which begins:

"Time speeds away like a fast flowing stream,
Years upon years flee away."

Gustaf A. Gustafson (1865-1922) in his early church experience affiliated with the Salvation Army and attended its denominational training school. Later he transferred to the Methodist church and became one of its preachers. After study at the pastoral school conducted by the Methodists in Sweden, he served as pastor in several parishes in Sweden and one in Finland. In 1916 he became editor of the Methodist paper and directed the publishing house.

Gustafson distinguished himself in many ways in his activities with the Methodists but especially through his writings. Lövgren calls him one of the foremost hymn writers within the Methodist church in Sweden. In the revision of the Methodist hymnal of 1919 he is represented by many substantial contributions, foremost among which are his original texts. The following opening lines and titles give some indication as to the scope of his hymn texts:

Thy life Thou in death has given.

Look, O Lord, upon Thy warriors.

Look, O Lord, Thy church is meeting.

In spring attire, as thine own bride.

O God, when all goes haywire.

O God, Who in the highest dwells.

O what joy my heart is feeling.

Down at the Cross, O Jesus Christ.

I found at the cross full salvation.

Several other hymn writers among Swedish Methodists have contributed to their hymnody in significant amounts but about whom just scant biographical material is available. Their names, dates, and the number of their hymns in the Methodist hymnal are as follows:

Mickael Peter Lindqvist (1832-1923) - (2)
Karl E. Norstrom (1859-1918) - (3)
Otto H. Strömberg (1867-1936) - (6)
Mathilde Will-Öjerholm (1858-1903) - (2)

Methodism in Sweden actually received its start from returning Swedes who had been influenced by American Methodism. One of the earliest hymn books to be used by Swedish Methodists was one published in America by Victor Witting entitled Andliga Sånger for Böne, Klass och förlagnda Möten (Spiritual Songs for Prayers, Class and Protracted Meetings). In 1868 another collection was published in Göteborg called Sånger på vägen till Zion, and in 1870 Psalmer och Lofsånger which contained texts from Psalmer och Sånger published in 1860 in Cincinnati.

The hymnal, Metodist-epikopalkyrkans Svenska Psalmer made its appearance in 1892, the work of J. M. Erikson, K. Lundgren and L. G. Berglund. The music edition edited by E. Lindgren was issued in 1893.

The first revision appeared in 1919, the work of G. C. Gustafson and K. E. Norstrom. The music edition followed in 1921. The latest revisions in both text and music came in 1951 and 1958 respectively.

Hymnody of Helgelseförbundet

Helgelseförbundet (Holiness Covenant) denomination, as has been mentioned in Chapter Two, was an outgrowth of the Methodist doctrine of holiness and complete sanctification. While it has not had a phenomenal growth, it has had considerable influence on the free-church movement with its emphasis on a "full" religious experience. Its very few hymnists have contributed significantly to the hymnody of the free-church movement in Scandinavia and may rightfully be considered among those included in this study.

One of the early hymnists of Helgelseförbundet was Eric Berquist (1855-1906). Influenced by a lady relative who induced him to attend a Lutheran service, he became active in the evangelistic ministry of the church, especially as it pertained to the outreach and education for children in the things of the faith. His poetic gifts were in evidence early in his life, and he was particularly interested in religious poetry. His interest in children led to his publishing the volume, Barna-Sånger (Songs for Children) in 1887. The publication of the official hymnal of the denomination, Förbundstoner, was due in large measure to Berqvist's efforts and influence. The first edition, issued in 1890, consisted of twenty selections over his pen-name "Eric," and sometimes "Onkel Eric." The hymnal went through fifteen editions until the time of Berqvist's death, each edition being somewhat larger than the previous one. He has been well represented in the various editions of Förbundstoner.

Emil Gustafson (1862-1900) was another hymnist of note in Helgelseförbundet. In early life he was a farmer, but while still a young man he committed himself to evangelical work and particularly writing. Recurring trials of severe illness caused him to be rather introspective and quiet. This disposition is reflected in the many songs which came from his pen during his short lifetime. Several of his hymns are meditative "reflecting the hidden life of the soul and the sanctification of the man's whole being." A few of his titles in English translation illustrate the truth of this statement:

A Childlike Heart in Stillness
Come, Rejoice, My Happy Heart
My Jesus, Take Charge of My Heart
I Am Mine Own No Longer

In 1886 he published his own collection entitled Betlehemsstjärnan. His popularity as a hymn writer in his denomination is to be seen in the inclusion of forty-four of his songs in Förbundstoner.

Jon Sonneson (1869-1950) was active as an evangelist with Helgelseförbundet, as well as a teacher and editor. He edited the music for Förbundstoner and published the music paper Harmoni. His many original hymns as well as his translations became popular among the members of his own particular church group. In addition to the texts, Sonneson composed many melodies of his own and revised many others used in the hymnal.

Carl A. Björkman (1873-1942) is another noteworthy author from this denomination. Björkman's decision to engage in religious work came at a very early age, and he never deviated from this chosen path.

After a special evangelist's course in Götabro completed in 1894, he engaged in an active ministry in Uppland, Närke, and Skåne for ten years. During this time he wrote many of his songs which were published in 1896 in the hymnal, Sånger till Lammets Lof, (Songs of Praise to the Lamb). Another volume compiled especially for young people, Ungdomsstjärnan, became an unusual success within the denomination. It was issued in a total of 300,000 copies. Björkman's contribution to Förbundstoner amounted to twenty-four selections.

Concerning the contribution of these hymnists, it is of significance that the emphasis of their hymnody on holy living and Christian victory made their hymns popular with the Pentecostals of Sweden. Many hymns of each found their way into the hymnals of the Pentecostal group.

Hymnody of the Pentecostal Church in Sweden

The Pentecostal revival in Sweden celebrated its fiftieth anniversary in 1957, which was considered the "year of jubilee." At this time the past fifty years were reviewed and their accomplishments brought before its constituency. Levi Pethrus (b. 1884) has already been cited as the greatest leader and inspirational force in the organization and development of the Pentecostal church in Sweden, particularly as pastor of "Filadelfiakyrkan" in Stockholm.

Petrus was born in Turhem into the home of a paper manufacturer, and at the age of fifteen became a member of the local Baptist congregation. He decided at an early age to enter the ministry and from 1904 until 1906 studied at Betelseminariet in Stockholm. He served as pastor in Lidköping from 1906 until 1910, and in 1911 assumed the pastorate of Filadelfiakyrkan. After an unusually long term of service he resigned as regular pastor in 1958 but has continued to be active in the service of this outstanding free-church congregation.

Not only has Petrus been the denominational leader "taken for granted" among the Swedish Pentecostals, but he has also contributed notably to the hymnody of this group of people. Besides being a hymnist, and perhaps the only outstanding one within this church, he, together with Paul Ongman, published the first edition of Segertoner (Victory Songs) in 1914. This has continued to be the official hymnal of all the Pentecostal congregations to the present day. Although he has filled an important role as writer and publisher, relatively few of his many hymns and melodies appear in Segertoner.

The first edition of this hymnal was of modest dimension, including only sixty-nine selections. Part two, issued the same year, contained 120 hymns. By the sixteenth edition in 1922 Segertoner included 337 numbers, and the enlargement of 1930 numbered 452 hymns. The latest edition was published in September of 1960 and was enlarged to 604 numbers. At the beginning of its publication Segertoner borrowed many of its songs from Barratt's Maran Ata, including a sizeable number of translations of American revival songs. Paul Ongman supplied many songs for the edition of 1930. It is of significance that in the edition of 1960 one can see the tendency to incorporate more hymns and melodies of Swedish origin, although by and large this book exhibits the continued tendency toward eclecticism. From the foreword to the 1960 edition the following excerpts in translation indicate the scope and purpose of this hymnal.

> To a great extent these songs are an outgrowth of the revival; in the first place Segertoner has been compiled to serve the people of this revival. The collection has in the meantime been supplemented with songs belonging to the spiritual inheritance, which for the benefit to God's people has come down from revivals in past times.

> Initially Segertoner was meant to fill the need of songs likewise for solo, choir and string music; but in view of the fact that special song collections for such purposes now are available, the songs not specially suitable for unison singing have been screened out. Together with some songs of less practical worth 78 songs have thus been eliminated and 230 new ones have been added. In this matter we have taken into account the replies to a questionnaire sent out to the Pentecostal churches in connection with the revision of the song book. Among the songs added there are some borrowed from the common Christian song treasures. At the same time we have seen to it, that the song writers and composers within the pentecostal movement circles are represented. In the selecting of new songs regard has been shown for the need of songs for special occasions and festivities. . . .
>
> During the past forty-six years Segertoner has been widely spread, and its songs have been sung in practically all religious groups. This is presumably due to the fact that it contains many new songs, and also as a result of the spirit of revival and renewal which characterizes this song collection. Our prayer and anticipation is, that Segertoner in the same manner and with the same outreach will continue to serve in God's work with yet increased blessing.[23]

Free Church Hymnody of Norway and Denmark

The three main free-church groups of Norway cannot boast of a great number of outstanding hymnists. In Norway the State Church has carried on an evangelical ministry along with the free groups, which in part may explain why the smaller denominations have been willing to accept and use much of the hymnody of the larger body, especially those hymns which reflect their own particular theological slant and practical emphasis.

Mention has already been made of the ministry of T. B. Barratt in connection with the establishment of the Pentecostal church in

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[23] Music till Segertoner (Stockholm: Förlaget Filadelfia, 1960) from the Foreword.

Norway. Educated in England, he preached his first sermon at the age of eighteen. For a time he studied music with Edvard Grieg and art under a Norwegian artist. Uncertain about his choice of vocation he finally entered the Methodist ministry. His break with the Methodist church and his joining the Pentecostal movement have already been elaborated upon in a previous chapter.

Early in his ministry Barratt used his artistic and literary talent in the writing of hymns. In his collection of songs of 1887, Evangeliske Sange, one of his own hymns was included, "Come Here Each Thirsty Soul." Presumably at the time of his early interest and experience with Pentecostalism (1906-1907) he wrote the hymn "Fire From Heaven, Come." Not only in his own hymnal, but in several of those of the free-church tradition, Barratt is well represented by a number of songs and translations. The official hymnal of the Norwegian Pentecostal groups, Maran Ata, was compiled by Barratt and includes many of his original hymns; a sizeable number are in the Swedish Pentecostal hymnal, Segertoner.

Werner Skibstedt (b. 1894) is claimed by the Norwegian Pentecostals as one of their outstanding hymnists, although he came to them in a roundabout way. Born in Norway of Swedish parents, he became a Baptist at an early age and joined the Baptist Tabernacle in Fredrikshold where the family lived. A short time later he became interested in the Pentecostal movement and subsequently joined with it and became one of its preachers both as a pastor and an itinerant minister. Skibstedt has to his credit over two hundred spiritual songs. For many of them he also composed the music. He has related that for many of the songs he received the inspiration to write the melodies before he wrote the text.

Several of his texts and musical settings appear in the Maran Ata collection.

Because of his being well represented in many Norwegian hymnals, Harry A. Tandberg (1871-1951) is worthy of mention in this study. Tandberg was born in Chicago of Norwegian parents who had settled in that city. Shortly after he was born his father lost his life in the great Chicago fire, and as a consequence his mother returned with her son to Norway to resume life again in her home country. At an early age Tandberg attached himself to the Salvation Army and became an ardent supporter of its work. One of the key positions which he filled was as children's and youth worker for the Salvation Army. His interest and talent in writing led to his appointment as editor-in-chief of his denominational publication in Norway. His ability as a writer was used well in the many hymns and songs which he provided for his denomination and which have found their way in great numbers into the various free-church hymnals of Scandinavia.

The Methodist Church of Norway lays claim to one of the talented women hymnists of that country, Elevine Heede (1820-1883). During a period of study in Paris she made her home with the family of a Methodist pastor who exerted great influence on her and subsequently she joined the Methodist church. From 1874 she engaged in work for the Methodist publishing house in Oslo and taught in a school for prospective preachers. For the Methodist hymnal of Norway she authored and translated approximately 200 songs, many of which are to be found in other denominational hymnals of Scandinavia.

Hymnists among the Baptists of Norway are very few in number, which fact may be accounted for by the relatively few members in this denomination.

A careful perusal of Evangelisten, the hymnal of the Norwegian Baptists, shows the names of only three of their number in the directory of hymnists who contributed to this collection. P. Z. Helbostad (1852-1939) minister, teacher, and editor at one time of the Baptist Banneret is represented by just two hymns. He wrote many hymns, translated a number of songs for use by his denomination, and supplied the Norwegian people with translations of the works of Charles Haddon Spurgeon, the famous English pulpiteer. His greatest contribution to Norwegian Baptist hymnody was his editing of Evangelisten which has had wide use among the Baptist constituency of Norway. The Øhrn brothers, Jacob Andersen (b. 1863) and Mons Andersen (b. 1856) exhibited outstanding leadership among Norwegian Baptists. They are still represented by several descendants in the on-going program of this denomination. Both were Baptist ministers, mission leaders, and pioneers in the Baptist work in their native country. Like Helbostad they wrote many hymns and songs and translated several which appear in Evangelisten. Each is represented in the hymnal by five hymns on various topics. Missionary to the Congo, Frithjov Iversen, (b. 1895) is represented in Evangelisten by just one song, although he has been an author of some repute in Norway, particularly among the Baptists.

Oscar Lövgren has observed that very few hymns have come to Sweden from Denmark or Norway although in more recent years contributions from these two countries have been more frequent. This is understandable since a cursory examination of even a Danish free-church hymnal reveals that apart from the hymns of Grundtvig, Kingo and Brorson, and some of the other early hymnists, the Danes have contributed little to their hymnody, particularly of the free-church vintage. Because of the evangelical spirit of the State Church, as has been cited in the case of Norway, the Danish free churches have availed themselves of the hymns from the larger body. The Danish Baptist hymnal, Salme-Og Sangbog, testifies to this fact.

Among the many free-church hymnists of Scandinavia whose hymns appear in the Baptist hymnal of Denmark, the Danish Baptists are in a small minority. Dr. Julius Köbner, a pioneer minister in Baptist work in Denmark (see Chapter Two), has contributed enough hymns to the present collection to more than compensate for the lack of other contributors among Danish Baptists. Twenty-eight of his hymns are included in Salme-Og Sangbog which is more than one would find of any one author in most Scandinavian hymnals, with perhaps two or three exceptions, and those among the State Church hymnists.

In addition to his own hymns and translations Köbner gave the Danish Baptists a hymnal entitled Troens Stemme (Tunes of Faith) in 1870. This was a step forward in providing the group with a song book of its own. This book afforded instruction and inspiration for forty-six years, during which time it went through several editions with but relatively few formal changes. In 1892 the hymnal Den nye Hosanna was published, named after an earlier Sunday school book Hosanna.

These earlier hymnals reflect the decisive German and Anglo-American influence, but in course of time the Danish people became interested in their own national heritage and peculiarity. The result was a growing appreciation for the Danish psalms and a dissatisfaction among Danish Baptists with Troens Stemme and Hosanna. They desired and requested a hymnal of their very own. At the annual conference in 1912 it was recommended that a song book be compiled which should retain a number of the Köbner psalms and include translations of Anglo-American favorites and the best Danish psalms. The first edition appeared in 1916 and the latest in 1928. The final paragraph of the foreword states clearly the intent and purpose of this hymnal:

> We thus send this "Salme-og Sangbog" forth to the Danish Baptists, confident that the Lord of the churches, Who has intrusted His great work into the hands of His children, will also bless and use this Book for His glory and for the edification of His Church.[24]

One other name among Danish Baptists is worthy of mention at this juncture, Søren Hansen (1819-1899). Although Hansen contributed only one hymn to the hymnal, his position among Danish Baptists justifies the inclusion of his name in this study. Arne Jensen in his history of the Danish Baptists quotes from the oration at Hansen's funeral:

> To write his history is to tell the history of the Danish Baptists in the first fifty years. He is one of our pioneers, he has preached the gospel through many years in various places throughout our country, and he knew almost all the Baptists in Denmark in his time. With a rod in his hand and a basket with books on his back he has gone more miles than anybody else. He had a talent as a poet.[25]

His one hymn, Al Magt i Himmel, also appears in the hymnal of the Norwegian Baptists, Evangelisten.

The official hymnal of the Danish Missionsförbund is entitled Salmer og Sange, the latest edition of which was published in 1954. This collection is actually a revision of the old Evangeli Basun in a slightly abbreviated form. Using the earlier hymnal as a "kernel," the editors added many new psalms and songs, the texts of which were made to conform to the official Danish Psalm Book. Evangeli Basun was first issued in 1855 and two other editions followed in 1896 and 1935. Regarding the change of name after the use of the first one for so many years, the committee makes this defense:

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[24] Salme-og Sangbog (Holboek: Dansk Baptist-Forlag, 1916). Foreword to the book.

[25] Arne Jensen, Baptisternes Historie i Danmark (Kobenhaun: Baptisterne Forlag, 1961), pp. 163-165.

> It is not the name but, rather, the content that should be decisive; and we have wished to follow the line staked out for us by our forebears. We began as a movement for awakening, and we wish to continue as an awakening voice among our people. Hopefully this new song book is a testimony thereof.[26]

Many hymnists from Scandinavia, the European mainland, England, and America are represented in this hymnal, both from the established church and the free-church denominations. The following are mentioned specifically as from the Missionsforbund of Denmark:

Jorgen Peter Santon (1878-1944), was a preacher in his denomination and author of eighteen hymns in this hymnal.

Jens Jensen-Maar (1856-1932). Only one of his hymns is included in this collection.

Emil Larsen (b. 1900). Eleven hymns and translations by this Forbund minister are used in the hymnal.

Viggo Ramvold (b. 1914) a minister of his denomination has translated and written several hymns, eight of which are included in this collection.

Jens Marinus Sørensen (b. 1880) is represented by one hymn. The first hymnal of the Danish Methodist Church was issued in 1876. Prior to that time there had been a few collections in use in the churches of the denominations, but the official book, Salmebog till Brug i Kirken, Skolen og Hjemmet (Psalmsbook for Use in Church, School and Home) was the answer to a long-felt need. Because of the shortcomings of this hymnal, a commission was appointed to make preparations for the issuing of a more satisfactory volume for use by the Danish Methodists. The result was the

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[26] Salmer og Sange (København: Missionsförbundets Forlag, 1954). Foreword to the book.

Salmebog for Metodistkirken I Denmark published in 1901.

This hymnal remained in use until 1952 when a new volume by the same name was published. This latest hymnal was the work of combined commissions, one of which had been appointed in 1945 to prepare a collection of "lighter" songs. For the sake of economy it was decided to publish just one hymnal and the present one is the final result. The number of the more "churchly" psalms was greatly reduced over the 1901 hymnal, and many more of the Gospel songs were added. The foreword to the 1952 hymnal expresses some concern over the quality of its contents:

> The commission has nevertheless done its best, within the limits of its present assignment, to bring forth the best of our rich Danish psalm treasure, and take in as much material--especially from Methodism's psalm compositions--as we found usable.
>
> We express our wish, that this psalm book may be used for the glory of Jesus Christ, and that it may serve God's kingdom work through our Church for many years, and that many will join us in prayer to the intent that this may come to pass.[27]

The following authors from the Danish Methodist Church have contributed to the 1952 hymnal:

Anton Bast (1867-1937)

Adolf Braestrup (b. 1880)

Alberta Eltholtz (1840-1929)

Carl Frederik Eltholtz (1840-1929)

Svend Kristian Johansen (1856-1943)

Johannes Kofod (b. 1900)

Niels Mann (b. 1889)

Benjamine Mohrbutter (b. 1840)

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[27] Salmebog For Metodistkirken I Danmark (København: Kurer-Forlaget, Metodiskirkens Forlag, 1953), p. 6.

Niels Peter Nelsen (1861-1942)

Karl Jensen Schou (1841-1889)

Christian J. M. Thaarup (1851-1918)

Christian E. Willerup (1815-1866)

Most of the hymnists in the foregoing list were members of the clergy of the Methodist Church; only one, Alberta Eltholtz, has been accorded a biographical sketch in Lövgren's Lexikon. She was a nurse and an active worker in Sunday school and temperance societies. The Danish Methodist hymnal is replete with hymns written by laymen and clergymen of the Lutheran church, as well as those from the free-church groups in Europe and America.

When the Danish Pentecostal Fraternal meeting was held in Copenhagen in 1945 the wish was expressed for a revision of their hymnal, Evangelitoner. The intention was that many hymns be eliminated which were not in frequent and current use and more worthy hymns be substituted for those discarded. In the recent revision attempts have been made at linguistic improvement and more strict adherence to the original forms of many of the hymns. A perusal of this hymnal reveals that it contains hymns by Pentecostal leaders in Scandinavia and many of the Gospel-song type from America and England. Kingo, Brorson, Grundtvig, and Ingemann are well represented among its 441 hymns.

Summary

The development and expansion of the free-church denominations in Scandinavia is the story of a simultaneous growth of their hymnody. In many instances the hymnody of these groups had small, modest beginnings, but with the help of hymnists in the more evangelical wing of the State Church, growth in the production of new hymns was assured.

Since a church's hymnody is a reflection of its doctrines and teachings, it was only natural for the clergy to lead the way in the production of such hymns. The roster of clergy-hymnists is long. Their hymns reflect not only the doctrinal leanings of their respective groups but also the emphasis on standards of personal piety desired by them for each adherent.

The production of hymnals in itself provides a fascinating study for layman and professional alike. From the inception of a particular religious group through its development to the present time, the need for constant revision of its hymnal is ever present. This is a mark of progress. All of the major free-church denominations of the Scandinavian countries have given much time and attention to the compilation and revision of their respective hymnals, and with few exceptions the present editions in use date from no earlier than 1950.

Nowhere is ecumenicity more clearly exemplified than in the hymnals of the various Protestant (and even Catholic) churches. Not only do denominations borrow freely from each other's store of hymns but they freely import hymns from other countries. Thus is enunciated the universal message of the church in all ages.

CHAPTER V

THE RECIPROCAL INFLUENCE OF STATE AND FREE CHURCH HYMNODY IN SCANDINAVIA

Background of State Church Hymnody

Sweden

The Koral-Bok companion to the 1849 edition of the Wallin hymnal contains a concise but comprehensive history of song in the Christian church, and more particularly the church in Sweden. The writer of this history cites what is supposed to have been "the first Christian song in the mother tongue of the Scandinavian people," namely "Solsången" (The Sun Song).[1] It was written "in the old heroic form and recorded in Iceland by 'Saemunder den vise' (d. 1133)."[2] Although Latin hymnody gained ground during the Catholic period, it never could blot out the "inherent love for song in the mother tongue."[3] The following translated quotation elaborates on the musical activities of the Swedes in the ensuing years.

> Fairy-like Mary-songs, legend-songs, May-songs, Bible history-songs and little psalms were sounded forth for centuries from the lips of the people in the Scandinavian Northlands. When the people in Dalarna in 1527 complained that spiritual songs were sung in Swedish at the worship services, Gustaf I could with reason reply "that it is the custom in the entire kingdom

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[1] J. H. Thomander and P. Wieselgren, Svenska Psalm-Boken Förenad Med Koral-Bok (Rock Island: The Lutheran Augustana Book Concern, 1892), p. ix.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid.

> throughout all parishes, that one usually sings praises to God in the Swedish language." At the close of the Middle Ages a number of the Church foundation psalms were translated into Swedish and published in "Den Svenska Tideboken" (Vorfruwe, Helghe Andz och Helga Kors-Tydher 1525). The one by Erik Olai (d. 1486): "Een rikir man ok welloger han" is so far as known the first Swedish original psalm by a known author.[4]

Latin songs in adulation of Swedish Saints contained to be performed on Saints Days. The praise song to the Virgin Mary "Ave Maria Stella" was held a favorite among the Swedish people and a trace of the melody is still to be seen in the Lutheran mass of Sweden. Sequences by Notker Balbulus are found in Swedish translations among which is the well known "Veni Sancte Spiritus" (O du Helge Ande). Bernard of Clairvaux (1091-1153), Thomas of Aquine (1225-1274), Thomas of Celano (d. 1255) and other prominent Latin writers of the Middle Ages have enriched the hymnody of Sweden as their songs have been accepted in the state-church hymnals.

Among the hymns of the pre-Reformation period, those of John Huss have been reworked and placed in the Swedish Psalmbok. A contemporary of Luther, and the most famous of the "meistersingers," Hans Sachs, (1494-1576), wrote several hymns, two of which were included in the Swedberg Psalmbok of 1695. Like the Reformation in Germany, the same movement awakened considerable interest in vernacular singing in Sweden. Quite naturally the chorales of Martin Luther became popular in the north country and found their way into the hymnals and thence into public worship. Similar practice obtained in Sweden as in Germany in the unison singing of the chorales which were often accompanied by the choir and/or organ. The latter agents were never allowed to "over-sound" the congregational singing. Several other authors who followed Luther also contributed to the hymnody of Reformation Sweden. The contributions of Swedish hymnists who were leaders in the church at this time have already been discussed in Chapter One including such writers as Olavus and Laurentius Petri, L. Petri Gothus, P. Johannes Gothus, et. al. Many of the sixteenth century hymnals were the work of these men.

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[4] Ibid.

Hymn singing in the seventeenth century was borne along with the continued publication of hymnals and service books for the Swedish State Church. The Radical Handbook of 1614 cut off the Gregorian elements and paved the way for congregational singing.[5] The Enchiridion (Swedish Psalm Book) of 1622 by Petrus J. Rudbeck was a significant volume in that line of hymnals which led to the Swedberg book. Rudbeck, a pastor, professor at Uppsala University, and lecturer in theology at Västerås became well known by his "wedding ode" which appeared in this collection. Rudbeck also included suitable psalms with texts for each Sunday of the church year. The Enchiridion contained in addition to the congregational psalms a calendar, the catechism by Luther, home exhortations, a prayer book, church orders, the Gospels and Epistles, the story of Christ's passion from the four Gospels, and the story of the destruction of Jerusalem by Flavius Josephus.

Part-singing grew in popularity and practice during the seventeenth century in Sweden. Much of the music was supplied by the "Hovkape" of Stockholm where many of the country's musicians were trained. The German church of Sweden was the home of great chorale composers including Gustaf Duben Sr. and Joachim Duben. Gustaf came to be known as the royal court master and organist in the German church in Stockholm, and a leading personality in Swedish musical life in the latter third of the century. Joachim, a military man and leader in the Riksdag, came under the influence of Pietism while imprisoned in Russia. As a result he published in 1727 his Uthwolde Andeliga Sånger (Select Spiritual Songs). German influence spread to the principal cities where composers supplied organ music and musical sources for settings by local masters. Praetorius and Schütz are well represented by such settings.

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[5] Lundholm, op. cit., p. 15.

The seventeenth century was thus a fruitful period for the production of original chorales in Sweden. Particularly toward the end of the century native composers appeared in significant numbers.

Johann Crüger (1598-1662) was a most important German composer who contributed to the Swedish chorale tradition. Lundholm has mentioned that his "musical meditations" on all of the church "tones," which make use of the solo organ and double choir were used in the school in Vasterås in 1626.[6] The well known Praxis pietatis melica must have exerted a great influence in Sweden since so many of Crüger's chorales were used widely in Swedish churches. Lundholm has further observed that thirty-one parts and variations in the chorale book of 1819 were taken from this collection.

Swedish church music generally followed the pattern as developed in Germany, with the more simple settings for use by the congregation, and more ornate music arranged for the choir with organ and orchestral accompaniments.[7] The organ was rarely used, but when it was used it was nearly always in alternation with the congregational singing of the chorale.

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[6] Ibid., p. 19.

[7] Ibid., p. 20.

It is worth noting that French influence on Swedish church melody is to be seen in the use of music by Crequillon, Clemenson Papa and Jannequin, and Italian influence is exhibited in the use of music by Giovanni Gabrielli. During the later seventeenth and early eighteenth century antiphonal singing was practiced in the Swedish church, no doubt because of the influence of the Venetian composer and his school of composition and performance.

According to Lundholm, the eighteenth century in Sweden was a period of secularization, and the building of the chorale melodies was not imposing. Church leaders became interested mainly in the texts. The Celiska Psalmbok of 1765 and 1767 (See Appendix B) represents not only a reaction against the texts of previous books, but also a desire for more simple musical arrangements for the chorale texts. These melodies in the "gallant" style did not come into general church use because of the strong conservative element among those who still exerted real influence on the church life of the day. The Swedish people quite generally set themselves against the profane settings with their overly-ornamented melodies. Even though some of the less worthy texts were used, the older melodies were retained as musical settings.[8]

The use of the organ with congregational singing reached its height during the early part of the eighteenth century because of the influence of the German masters. Not only were organists in places of prestige in the church but they also were recognized as teachers of music and music theory. They developed the ability to play the chorales from the figured bass and became proficient as singers of chorales and "lesser songs." It was necessary for them to be able to play the violin for folk dances and they needed a working knowledge of the other string instruments and woodwinds for teaching purposes. Many excelled in the writing of chorale settings and familiarized themselves with the many facets and methods of performance.

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[8] Ibid., p. 26.

Lindholm points out that the eighteenth century closed with a real renaissance of a cappella style of chorale singing. Royalty became interested in the musical development of the Swedish people. The Royal Academy was established and daily concerts were held at the Royal Court. The opera house was opened and the production of the first Swedish opera took place in 1773. Swedish composers looked to other countries, particularly France, for their inspiration, and French melodies were collected for use in both sacred and secular compositions.[9]

The question of an official chorale book was still unsettled at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Several musicians produced a number of chorale collections and ultimately established the four-voiced style. Johann Christian Haeffner (1759-1833), court composer, conductor of the Stockholm opera, music director at Uppsala University and organist of the German church in Stockholm was one of the first to produce a collection of chorales. His 1808 collection contained twenty-five old and nineteen new settings. A second book by Haeffner in 1820-21 containing nearly three hundred chorales, among which were only ninety-six new melodies, was to influence significantly the development of the hymnody of Sweden. Lundholm's analysis reveals the use of a number of the Greek modes treated in typical nineteenth-century romantic style, with a simple unadorned melodic line.

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[9] Ibid., pp. 29, 30.

Haeffner's collections came under severe scrutiny, and opinions varied regarding their worth and practicality. Criticism arose concerning the slow tempos, monotonous style and poor harmonizations which included parallel fifths and hidden octaves. However, Haeffner's work inspired other composers to write chorale settings in spite of the severe criticism leveled against him. One of the first to follow in the footsteps of Haeffner was Johan Dillner (1785-1862), a highly gifted musician of the romantic school as well as a court preacher and regiment pastor of the military. He composed and collected a number of songs for four voices which he published in 1858 under the title Occasional Pieces from the Countryside. Dillner also may be classified as a music educator because of his interest and methods in the teaching of singing. He is known as the inventor of the one-stringed instrument the psalmodikon which, in its simple construction, consisted of a plain wooden box on which was fastened a single string. Many of the churches at that time did not have organs, and this instrument became a great help in congregational singing as well as a source of musical pleasure in the homes. Dillner's method of part singing was successful and became popular in schools like the Uppland Seminary in Uppsala. His chorale book of 1830, which used cipher symbols instead of regular notation, was widely used as well as his settings to the Syreen hymnal, which appeared in 1846. The latter book contained four-voiced harmony based on the major scale. This was according to the Royal Edict of 1845, which stated that four-voiced music was to be practiced in the seminaries throughout Sweden with such books to be furnished for this purpose.

The Royal Edict of 1845 with its emphasis on four-voiced harmony led to the rise of many editions of chorale settings for male voices. These were important in that they took care of situations created by the changing boy's voice. One of the first editions for male voices was published in 1848 by J. P. Gronham. In this book the melody was placed in the tenor voice. This edition was followed by several others such as the one by August Lundh in 1866 for three voices, and Alard's chorale arrangements of 1864 which placed the melody in the top voice.

In the meantime Haeffner's book continued to be criticized and new collections were published to counteract its influence. Abraham Mankell (1802-1868), professor of church music at the Stockholm Conservatory, issued his Koralbok för folkskolan eller det förenklade Psalmodikon, written for four voices in a more simple style than Dillner. Franz Berwald revised the Haeffner chorales as did J. A. Josephson. Ministers were very active in their protest to Haeffner's work while the organists continued to be very passive about it.[10]

Many of the newer collections were subjected to severe criticism as the more "lively" chorale settings were in demand, probably because of the strong sectarian influences which prevailed. The influence of the free-church movement was strong with its emphasis on the sentimental, lively type of spiritual song. Chorale singing was truly at a low ebb. The general situation is typified by the collection by Per Ulrik Stenhammar (1829-1875), a rather self-taught musician, who composed a number of choruses and solo songs. His Congregational Songs was received with wide acclaim. More will be said concerning this hymnal later in the chapter; suffice it to point out at this juncture that its contents were of inferior quality.

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[10] Ibid., p. 32.

While the chorale went through a period of struggle during the nineteenth century in Sweden, the end of the century witnessed its renaissance. In 1889 the "Friends of Church Song" was organized to restore the Protestant chorales to their original settings as the early Swedish church leaders had sung them. New interest was generated in the chorale collection of 1697 and new and more traditional styles of chorale settings were published.[11]

In the early part of the twentieth century further steps were taken to restore the chorale to its rightful place. A committee was appointed in 1916 for the express purpose of formulating and presenting new chorales. The work was completed in 1921 with the Korolbok till Nya Psalmer, a trial collection to be used with the Wallin book of 1819. It contained many new melodies but it also borrowed extensively from German, English, Danish and American sources.

An analysis of the chorale of Swedish vintage reveals the extensive use of the folk song in its development. The chorales for the Wallin Psalmbook of 1819 show a decided use of folk melodies with their small intervals and close adherence to the scale line. It is not uncommon to find a mixture of modes in a chorale arrangement; a melody may begin in the minor mode and end in the parallel major. Music that was used for festive celebrations tended toward the major tonality. Lundholm points out that Swedish music tends to show more Danish than Norwegian influence in the plaintive, sorrowful and tranquil melodies which are used.[12] German influence is seen in the use of the music of Bach, Crüger, Scheidt and others whose melodies served as guidelines in the development of the Swedish chorale. In some instances the Latin and German influences combined in the chorales of the Swedish people. While no really outstanding chorale composers wrote in Sweden, the music of this north country did draw on the rich legacy from foreign countries for its enrichment and development. When, in some instances, native Swedish melodies were used, they showed the influence of neighboring countries who experienced the Protestant Reformation. C. R. Osback has enunciated in a straightforward manner how dependent Sweden has been on foreign influence and contributions for its hymnody. Writing in the post-war era of 1924, he had this to say concerning a wrong ascription of a German hymn to Swedish origin:

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[11] Ibid., pp. 78-80.

> That the immortal stanza by the German author, Nikolaus Decius, "Guds rena Lamm, skyldig på korset, för oss slaktad," has been listed as of Swedish origin is perhaps of no particular importance . . . but in these days of hate for Germans we could do well in giving the land of Luther and Oncken due credit. Moreover, if we Swedes were to give full acknowledgement for what we have received by way of religious thought from Germany and England, there would not be much left for us to boast of as our very own.[13]

Denmark

According to Julian, the first hymnal of Denmark and Norway, in fact of the whole North, was the one published in 1528 by Claus Martenson

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[12] Ibid., p. 68.

[13] C. R. Osback, Old Acquaintances in New Garb, (Translated from "Svenska Standaret," February 12, 1924).

Töndebinder (1500-1576), considered by Julian to be the Father of Danish hymnody. It contained translations from Latin, German, and Swedish sources as well as originals. It was recast in 1529 by the author and two others, Arvid Petersen and Hans Spendemager, and in its final form contained prayers, psalms, hymns and canticles, in keeping with the principles of the Danish Reformation. The title in English translation sets forth its contents and purpose:

> A new handbook with psalms and spiritual songs of praise, derived from Holy Writ which now are sung in the Christian assembly to God's praise and men's salvation.[14]

Bishop Hans Hensen of Ribe published a reproduction of the book in 1544 and Hans Thomisson edited a similar edition in 1569 (see page 143). These books were used for more than a century in both Denmark and Norway until the attempted revision by Kingo.

In 1573 appeared the Jesperson Graduale which was used mainly by the cities of Denmark for "high mass and holy days." Twenty-one of the twenty-six parts were from the Roman Mass and this book represented a compromise between Gregorian music and popular congregational song. The Jesperson Graduale marked the transition into vernacular singing and became influential until 1650. The last edition was brought out in 1637. This was a new day for the church when the "Psalmasse" was established throughout Denmark and Norway.

Several significant publications followed that were to enrich the worship of the Lutheran church in Denmark. In addition to the Kingo Graduale and Salmebog of 1699 (see page 144) the following were published by and used for the Danish people:

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[14] Julian, op. cit., p. 1000.

(a) Den nye Salmebog of 1740, projected by Adolf Brorson and completed by Erik Pontopiddan. (See pages 151, 152) Hjortsvang has remarked that this hymnal completed the decadence of the chorale begun by Kingo's Graduale.

(b) Salmebog eller en Samling af gamle og ny Salmer, till Guds Aire og hans Menigheds ophyggelse was published in 1778 and became known as the Guldberg Salmebog.

(c) In 1797 the Evangelisk-kristelig Salmebog till Brugved Kirke Kirke og Hus Andagt was released for the Danish Church, but was never widely accepted and merely served as a transitional book for later publications.

(d) Sangvark till den Danske Kirke (Grundtvig) was published in 1839 (see page 158).

(e) Inspired by the Grundtvig hymnal, a new official hymnal was produced in 1855 entitled, Salmebog till Kirke og Husandagt. This was in reality a revision by Ingemann of an old Kingo hymnal and became known as the Roskilde Konvents Salmebog.[15] (See page 162) The desire grew year by year for a richer supply of psalms for the Danish churches until supplements were supplied to the Roskilde collection in 1873 and 1890, the former remaining very popular throughout Denmark.

(f) The Samebog for Kirke og Hjem of 1897 is the final publication growing out of "proposals" of 1885, 1888, and 1892.[16]

In the 1897 book many of the Roskild "Konvent" psalms were omitted and a few from the "proposals" were inserted in the compilation of this book. The hymnal has gone through several editions. The Danish Lutheran hymnal in America has retained the title of the mother-church hymnal in English translation, The Hymnal for Church and Home and includes in its contents many hymns and melodies from the old Danish hymnal.

In addition to the hymnals, several melody books were forthcoming for use with the various collections of hymn texts. For the Guldberg hymnal of 1778 a book of musical settings was published in 1781; in 1801

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[15] Hjortsvang, op. cit., pp. 60-61.

[16] Ibid.

H. O. C. Zinck published his Koralbog for use with the same. In 1853 and 1878 collections of chorale settings were issued for use with the "Konvent" hymnal and its supplements respectively. The hymnal of 1897 was supplied with proper settings by V. Bielefeldt in his collection of melodies of 1901. In addition to these books several chorale books for use with the Danish hymnals followed in close succession from 1888 until 1920. Attempts were made in some of the melody books to restore the chorales to the rhythm of the sixteenth century; others favored the blending of the free melodies with the traditional chorale tunes. The most comprehensive collection of musical settings was the one entitled Meinhedens Melodier till i Kirklag Hjem, published in two editions in 1914 and 1920, containing over 1278 melodies and a supplement of forty tunes.[17]

Norway

The Norwegian Lutheran Church generally followed Denmark in the compilation of its hymnbooks and the organization of its hymnody. The hymnals of Thomisson, Pontoppidan and Guldberg were used freely by the church in Norway as a basis for its hymnals. Mention has already been made of the Lanstad hymnal, Kirke Salme Bogen first published in 1865 (see page 168). Its popularity is attested by the fact that six hundred of Norway's one thousand congregations used it. The Salmebogen till Kirke og hus Andagt which appeared in 1911 was merely a revision of the Danish hymnal just previously mentioned. Another collection which received considerable use in Norway was John Nicolae Frantzen's Christeligie Psalmer till Husandagt of Skole brug published in 1851.

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[17] Ibid., pp. 67, 68.

Cartford has observed the "undertones" of Gregorian chant in Norwegian music, particularly in the modal cadences which are frequently used. He also points out the influence which church music had on the folk music of Norway, citing that missionary work gave a particular flavor to folk music. It would seem that this process is the reverse of what is normal in that folk music usually influences the music of the church. He suggests that the open fifth in much of the music in Norway illustrates this point.[18]

The Reformation in Norway resulted in a new emphasis on congregational singing as obtained in the other Scandinavian countries and Germany. The layman was provided with a wide field in which to express his newly-found faith. The old chants were harmonized, in some instances resulting in a mixture of Latin and Nordic flavor, and the entire realm of hymnody was a broad field for composition. New tunes were created, and old settings from Germany, Sweden, and Denmark were arranged "to suit Norwegian tastes." Many tunes were written to texts by Kingo and Brorson. Den Store hvide Flok (The Great White Host) of Brorson became popular among the Norwegian people. Lindeman discovered the tune and Grieg made it famous by his arrangement for male voices. Cartford cites this as an "exhibit A" of a folk tune "lifted bodily from folk music into the hymnbook."[19]

Perhaps the most influential composer in Norway was Ludwig M. Lindeman, although, as Cartford discovered in his study, little is known of his life apart from Norwegian accounts. He was born into a family which contributed to the musical life of Norway as did the Bach family in Germany and the Couperins in France.[20] Ole Andreas Lindeman, the father, was a traveling virtuoso pianist and one-time organist in the Domkirke in Trondheim. Ludwig was the most gifted of the sons, who were all musicians. An admirer of Johann Sebastian Bach, he studied theory, piano, and organ and wrote a number of fugues on B A C H. Ludwig was a respected musician and teacher in his native country and held honored posts in both areas. In time he was recognized as Norway's leading organist and was signally honored by being asked to give a recital on the organ in Royal Albert Hall in London in 1871.[21]

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[18] Cartford, op. cit., p. 6.

[19] Ibid., pp. 8, 9.

Ludwig Lindeman began to work on his folk song collection in 1840. This activity was to occupy his time in the next twenty-five years. He collected in excess of 2000 folk tunes from various sources and published over 600 in carefully harmonized musical settings. His three volume set, Aeldre og nyere Norske Fjeld melodier (Old and New Norwegian Mountain Melodies), won for him acclaim from a noted contemporary, Franz Liszt.[22]

Lindeman's best known and most significant contribution to the musical culture of Norway has been in his composing and arranging of hymn tunes. His originals and arrangements total approximately 200. Cartford asserts that these were really his only popular works even though he was recognized for his other contributions to the musical life of Norway. In 1859 he edited Luther's Geistliche Lieder for the Norwegian people and in 1871 edited the new church Koralbog, which was used with the Lanstad hymnal. The latter was received with great favor and enthusiasm. Cartford asserts that Lindeman felt at home with the light, picturesque texts of Grundtvig and Brorson and that his "fantasy-like quality of Norwegian folk music is infused into his hymn tunes." He "bridged the gap between the staunch old chorales and the new pietistic hymns of the revivalistic period in which he lived."[23]

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[20] Ibid., p. 15.

[21] Ibid., pp. 15-17.

[22] Ibid., p. 17.

Although Lindeman's chorale settings were generally popular, he did enter into controversy with his more conservative critics because of his tempo indications, dotted rhythms, and the liberty he allowed for free improvisatory organ accompaniments. One of his critics, Erik Hoff, produced a hymnal in 1878 in an effort to thwart the influence of Lindeman, but the latter remained popular while he lived. He could write music of the revivalistic type for Hauge's songbook and in the conservative tradition for Lanstad's hymnal. After his death the traditional chorales were quite generally restored to their original forms.[24]

Lindeman sets forth his intentions concerning his harmonizations, style, and performance of his chorale settings in the foreword to the 1877 edition of his Koralbog and in a sense defends himself against his critics:

> In regard to the harmonizing I have tried to preserve the required ease and poise as well as clarity and variety, in order that the Melodies, lighted up and enlivened, may stand forth as a connected whole. Since the harmonizing of the melodies can be accomplished in many ways, it follows of itself, that the organist, when he possesses the required musical and harmonistic insight and skill, as well as for the sake of greater variety,

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[23] Ibid., pp. 19, 20.

[24] Ibid., p. 26.

> at least for every verse--make use of altered harmony. Where on the other hand, such cannot be posited, it is important that the prescribed harmony should carefully be observed.
>
> As for the congregational responses indicated in the Choral Book it could be wished that the more capable in the congregation would learn these to the point where they could be heard independently apart from the congregation itself.[25]

The Koralbog was published in an American edition in 1899 and accommodated itself to the need for a book containing "all melodies needed in a Psalm Book for Lutheran Christians in America," as well as for use with the Lanstad hymnal and other Psalm books of the various Synods in America. It was designed for use both by the choir and the organist.[26]

As has been mentioned in Chapter Four, the list of hymnists from Norway in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries is not imposing. Their contributions, however, are of significance to the study of the relationship between state and free-church hymnody. To the list should be added the following hymnists: Carl G. Aagard (1852-1927), Chaplain, pastor and writer, and author of the famous "Sailor's Hymn"; Ole Teador Moe (1863-1922), pastor and author of the well-known hymn, "Jesus, the Only One, Holiest, Costliest"; Alette Heyerdahl (b. 1862), pastor's wife; Johan Halmrast (1866-1912), journalist and author of the popular hymn, "O Blessed Morn, Nothing Like it."[27]

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[25] Koralbog indeholdende Melodier til Salmebog for lutherske Kristne i Amerika (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1916), pp. 3, 4.

[26] Ibid., p. 4.

[27] Lövgren, op. cit., III, pp. 391-398.

The Influence of State-Church Hymnody on the Hymnody of the Scandinavian Free Church

Sweden

Early Baptist hymnody began in 1859 with the publication of Pilgrims Sånger by Gustaf Palmquist. An analysis of its contents has already been given in Chapter Four. Since this collection was intended for use in the more informal evangelistic services it is not surprising that hymns from the State Church are scarce among its contents. Laurentius Petri, Jakob Arrhenius, Brorson and Malmstedt are represented by a very few hymns in this hymnal even though the greatest percentage of the hymns are from the Pietist and free-church authors. Nya Pilgrims Sånger contains some chorales such as "Vam Himmel hoch," "Ein feste Burg" and the Philipp Nicolai chorale "Wie schon leuchtet der Morgenstern." Nicolai's setting has been adopted by the Swedish people as their very own because of its close association with the Christmas text, "All Hail to Thee O Blessed Morn."

The first official Swedish Baptist hymnal, Psalmisten, in its early editions contained a sampling of hymns from the Swedish Psalmbook as well as some from the official hymnal of the Finnish State Church. Subsequent editions indicate more of a return to the chorales of Lutheranism. The edition of 1904 contains an appreciable number of chorales by Nicolai, Nicolaus Decius, Martin Luther and Johann Herman Schein. The latest revision of Psalmisten of 1928 includes the chorales of the following composers in addition to those appearing in the 1904 edition: Melchior Teschner, Gustav Duben, Johan Schop, Johann Crüger, and Jacques Regnart. Although Psalmisten is strongly Swedish in its selection of hymns, a number of Danish and Norwegian hymns have been given a place within its pages.

The latest publication of the Swedish Baptists, Psalm och Sång (1966) is quite revolutionary. Although the percentage of state-church hymns in this hymnal is not phenomenal, it does indicate a rather strong affinity with the old hymns and chorales on the part of a separatist church. From German Lutheranism alone there are approximately fifty chorales in this new hymnal; of this number fifteen are by Johann Crüger, who, as previously stated seems to have been the favorite composer of the Scandinavian people through the years. Teschner, Luther, Nicolai and Heinrich Albert are next in order of popularity. Others include Franz Gruber, Adam Krieger, Hans Leo Hassler, Melchior Vulpius, Michael Praetorius, and Georg Neumark. German poets and authors are included in Psalm och Sång in a sizeable number; specifically there are twenty-three by them, with Martin Luther represented by five hymns. The hymns of such well-known writers as Benjamin Schmolck, Count Zinzendorf, Paul Gerhardt, Christian Gregor, Johann Franck, Joachim Neander and Elizabeth Cruciger are also found in this latest Baptist hymnal.

Scandinavian composers and authors are well-represented in Psalm och Sång. It is appropriate to include at this juncture short biographical material on a few whose contributions to Swedish hymnody have been of some significance and whose hymns are contained in this hymnal.

Carl Axel Toren (1813-1904) was confirmed by F. M. Franzen, the poet and hymn writer. Toren was greatly influenced by Franzen to enter the Lutheran ministry. After theological studies he was ordained as a clergyman by J. O. Wallin in 1839. He contributed to the hymnody of the church by his own compositions and as a member of the Psalmbook committee of 1883. Two of his translations appear in Psalm och Sång.

Severin Cavallin (1820-1886) entered the Lutheran ministry as a result of his strong religious home background. A prolific writer, he published his own sermons and religious poetry. He was instrumental in the compilation and publication of several Psalmbook proposals, having served with distinction on the committee of 1883. Several of his translations of well-known psalms have appeared in free-church hymnals.

Robert T. Kiblberg (1848-1908), a Lutheran minister, served in various capacities in the wider ministry of the church. In addition to pastoral duties he served as a catechist in the Katrina congregation in Stockholm and assistant teacher and preacher at the Deaconess Institute. He arranged music for the choir and was the translator and arranger of hymns and chorales.

Johan Alfred Eklund (1863-1945) was ordained a priest in the Lutheran Church following his theological studies at Uppsala University. He served with distinction as Cathedral Dean in Kalmar and as Bishop of Karlstad. In church hymnody he was noted not only as a writer of hymns but as a member of the psalmbook committees in the early years of the twentieth century. He translated Danish, English, and German psalms representing the period from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Sixteen of his originals and translations are contained in Psalm och Sång.

Much space has already been given to Johan Olof Wallin, the greatest figure in the hymnody of the State Church as well as the free-church bodies of Sweden. A study of Scandinavian hymnody leaves one with the impression that he is claimed equally by both groups. Naturally his strong pietistic leanings and sympathy reflected in his hymns have endeared him to the separatist groups. In Psalm och Sång alone over fifty of his hymns are included. No other hymn writer is as well represented. This is the strongest link between the hymnody of the Lutheran tradition and that of any free-church denomination. Running a close second to Wallin is the poetess Lina Sandell-Berg, whose total contribution to Psalm och Sång numbers forty-six hymns. The grand total of nearly one hundred hymns of these two authors testifies to their continuing popularity with the Scandinavian people both of the state-church and the free-church traditions.

The hymnal of the Free Baptist denomination in Sweden, Pilgrimstoner, also reflects the influence of the hymnody of the State Church but to a lesser degree than Psalm och Sång, perhaps only because it contains fewer hymns. Among the composers one will find the names of Nicolai, Regnart, Luther, Desius, Schein, C. H. Rinck, and Vulpius. Authors in this hymnal from the Lutheran communion include Arrhenius, Cruciger, Franck, Gerhardt, Laurentius, Luther, Olavus Petri, Swedberg, and Decius. Similar situations obtain in the Helgelseförbundet hymnal, Förbundstoner, and the official hymnal of the Swedish Methodists, Metodist kyrkans Psalmbok. With only slight variations the same list of authors and composers may be gleaned as from the hymnals discussed previously. Both also include hymnists and composers from the State Churches of Denmark and Norway.

The hymnal of Svenska Missionsförbundet, Sånger och Psalmer, compares in size and in the scope of its contents with the recent Baptist hymnal of Sweden. Similar relationship to the Lutheran hymnody is readily discernible in these two free-church hymnals, both monuments to the work of capable committees. In addition to Danish, Norwegian, and Finnish authors and hymnists of the State Church, those already mentioned from the German and Swedish Lutheran tradition are also contained in this hymnal.

Among the composers of hymn and chorale settings several appear in great numbers. Johann Crüger leads the list with nineteen chorale settings, followed by Martin Luther with fifteen, Gustaf Duben and Heinrich Albert, each with ten, Teschner with seven, and Nicolai with five. Approximately twelve more composers from the State Church are included in the hymnal; many melodies are used as settings for Wallin psalms. In addition to arrangements and settings by the composers just mentioned, there are over sixty German melodies; many of these are used as settings for Wallin texts. Approximately eight of Jasper Swedberg's hymns and translations are found in Sånger och Psalmer, a similar number to those found in the Baptist hymnal. Both J. O. Wallin and Lina Sandell-Berg are represented by scores of texts as is the case with the Baptist Psalm och Sång. Wallin's originals and translations are in excess of fifty while Mrs. Berg's original poems and a few translations number more than sixty.

The hymnody of the Lutheran church, while not omitted entirely from Segertoner, the Swedish Pentecostal hymnal, does not appear in as great abundance as in the foregoing collections. In spite of the predilection of the Pentecostal denomination for a lighter type of hymnody, the Filadelphia hymnal does contain an appreciable and worthy selection of hymn texts and chorale melodies of the State Church. Most of the authors and composers mentioned in connection with the hymnals already discussed have been accorded a place among the 600 hymns in Segertoner. Twenty-seven hymns from the state-church hymnists are included, which indicates that this branch of hymnody has not been neglected entirely by a less formal denomination, although the percentage is relatively small compared to other hymnals of free-church affiliation.

Denmark

The hymnists of the Danish Lutheran Church are well represented in the hymnals of the free churches in Denmark. Reference has already been made to the many hymns written by state-church hymnists, both in Norway and Denmark, which met the demands of several free-church groups. From among the scores of hymnists the following appear frequently in the hymnals of the denominations included in this study. The biographical material is taken from Lövgren's Lexikon:

Scholler Birkedal (1809-1892) entered the ministry under the influence of Grundtvig after having trained as an apothecary and having taught in a public school. After dismissal from the church because of his severe denunciation of its politics, he continued unabated in preaching to promote home gatherings. His songs were popular in his native Denmark and were translated into Swedish.

Casper Johannes Boye (1791-1853) was born in Norway but spent most of his life in Denmark after his seminary training in that country. He served as pastor in several parishes including the Garnison Church in Copenhagen. His songs were popular in Denmark and were translated into Swedish and Norwegian; they have been equally popular in these countries.

Andreas P. V. Gregersen (1723-1801) received his early inspiration in music from his visit to Herrnhut in 1742. He was ordained into the ministry in 1757 and served both as deacon and bishop in his church. In addition to his work as an author of many hymns, he became a publisher of church hymnals and songbooks.

Niels Johannes Holm (1778-1845) was a private teacher and priest in Fyen, but because of earlier contact with the Brethren Church in Germany he became vitally interested in the work of this group. He labored intermittently with the Brethren Church and became popular among the free churches. His song, "Hvar saliger den lille flokk," (How blessed is the little flock) has been popular in Scandinavia.

Peder Jacobsen Hygom (1692-1764) was an ordained priest of the Danish Lutheran Church. Because of his strong leaning toward Pietism he influenced the several congregations he served. His service to the Danish people was mainly the translation of hymns.

Jacob Peter M. Paulli (1844-1915) was at one time the pastor and dean of the influential Church of Our Lady in Copenhagen. He was a popular preacher who attracted large crowds to this church in the capital city. His conservative stand was evident not only in his preaching but also in his interest in the Inner Mission of Denmark. His hymns are found in nearly all of the free-church hymnals.

Ernst Christian Richardt (1831-1892) engaged in work in theology, journalism, and teaching before finally settling in the work of the ministry. He was popular as a song writer, particularly for his song, "Törnerose," a symbolical poem which became the campaign song for the resistance group in Denmark-Norway in 1940-1945.

From among the 533 selections in the Danish Baptist hymnal, Salmer og Sangbog, nearly half are from state-church hymnists. Included in this number are the hymns of Grundtvig, Kingo, and Ingemann. Pietistic writers of other countries also are represented by a considerable number of hymns. The Danish Baptists have leaned heavily on the hymnists of their native State Church as well as on those of Germany, Sweden, and

Norway. Hymns of Luther, Gerhardt, Schmolck, Decius, Tersteegen, Freylinghausen, Neander, von Lowenstern, Melancthon, Wilhelm of Weimar, and Nicolai are among the contents of this hymnal. Luther and Gerhardt have the greatest representation of hymns among this group. While Lina Sandell and J. O. Wallin have been popular among Sweden's free-church people, the Danish Baptists have not taken to their hymns up to this point in their history.

The Danish Missionforbund's hymnal, Salmer og Sange, shows considerably less influence from the State Church in Scandinavia or Germany as compared with the Baptist hymnal. The hymns and translations of Brorson, Grundtvig, and Ingemann are included in the amount of twenty-six, forty-eight and nineteen respectively, but beyond the hymns of these authors this hymnal contains only forty-one selections by state-church hymnists.

The Danish Methodist hymnal presents an interesting study in comparison with those already considered. Nearly all of the hymns from the Lutheran Church contained in this hymnal are from Danish hymnists, with only a few from Norwegian and Swedish poets. Outside of Scandinavia only the names of Luther, Neander, Nicolai, Zinzendorf, Schmolck, and Philip Spitta are to be found in the directory of contributors. The list of state-church poets, mostly from Denmark, contains the names of sixty hymn writers. The Methodists of Denmark have drawn heavily on the Danish Lutheran Church for their hymnody.

The Danish Pentecostal Church has used very few hymns by state-church hymnists in its hymnal, Evangelietoner. Grundtvig, Brorson, Ingemann, Luther, and Gerhardt are represented by a few hymns and Paulli, Richardt, and Boye have contributed a small number, but the percentage by even nominal members of the State Church is very low compared to the hymnals of the other bodies.

Norway

Previous reference has been made to the more popular state-church hymnists whose names appear in the free-church hymnals of Norway. In addition to Johannes Johnson, Moe, Lanstad, Wexels, and Kirsten Hansen there are approximately fifty other hymnists from the Norwegian, Swedish, and Danish Lutheran Churches whose hymns have been selected for the Baptist hymnal, Evangelisten. There are forty-four texts by German hymnists in this collection. Hassler, Weissel, Zinck, Schop, Nicolai, Teschner, Vulpius, Luther, Neander, Crüger, and Rinkart are a few of the prominent German authors whose hymns are being used by Norwegian Baptists.

Ludwig Lindeman leads the way as the prominent composer among the Norwegian people, particularly in the free churches. In Evangelisten there are fifteen entries of his chorale settings, more than from any other single composer. In addition to Lindeman several other composers from Scandinavia are represented.

Sions Harpe, the official praise-book of the Methodist Church in Norway, presents the same picture as Evangelisten. Lindeman's settings are the best represented and the most popular. Chorales of prominent German and Scandinavian composers are just nominally used. The popularity of Scandinavian authors is noticeable in the Methodist hymnal. Lina Sandell's hymns number fifteen while the composite figure of other Scandinavian hymnists is approximately twenty-one.

The Misjonsforbund hymnal of Norway, Salmer og Sanger, compares favorably to the hymnals of the Swedish Baptists and Missionsförbundet in its drawing upon state-church hymnists and composers. Ludwig Lindeman alone has forty-one entries in this hymnal. Among the well-known composers, H. O. C. Zinck contributed twelve hymns in this collection; Nicolai and Schop follow in close succession with nine and eight chorales respectively; Hassler and Crüger are both represented by three settings; Luther, Teschner, and Vulpuis each are represented by two chorale melodies. Many Scandinavian composers and collections have been the source of supply for Salmer og Sanger.

Among the hymnists of the State Church in Scandinavia, those from Sweden are in the most prominent place with forty-one texts used in Salmer og Sanger. Lina Sandell-Berg's poems number twenty-six in this hymnal. Danish and Norwegian hymn writers have supplied a total of twenty-nine selections while fourteen hymns of Martin Luther are included in this hymnal.

An analysis of the hymnal of the Norwegian Pentecostal Church reveals that this denomination has had the least to do with the hymnody of the State Church. The only author worth noting at all is Lina Sandell-Berg whose hymns number approximately fourteen. Quite naturally the warmth of her expression and simplicity of style have had an appeal to this group. The number of other authors and composers from the State Church at large is of little or no consequence in Norwegian Pentecostal hymnody.

Summary

Although the break with the State Church in all of the Scandinavian countries was decisive and complete, the various free-church denominations have never completely overthrown the traditional Lutheran hymns and chorale melodies. Hymn texts and tunes are still found to a greater or lesser extent in all hymnals of the major free-church tradition. As the analysis of hymnals has shown, the Baptists of Sweden and Denmark and the Mission Covenant Church of all three countries under study have made considerable use of hymns and musical settings from the State Church. The Scandinavian Methodists have also included an appreciable number of hymns from state-church hymnody in their collections. It is quite natural to expect that the Pentecostal churches would find the least use for hymns of the state church tradition, although even among this group there is not a total absence of such hymns.

Background of Free-Church Hymnody in Scandinavia

One of the first references to the influence of Pietism on Scandinavian hymnody was in connection with the Swedberg Psalmbook of 1695 (See Chapter One). Although the accusations against Swedberg were prejudiced and unfounded, Arrhenius and Ollon, who also contributed to this hymnal, leaned toward pietistic expressions in their hymns (page 119). The foreword to the Thomander-Wieslegren Koral-Bok gives a rather clear and concise evaluation of the hymns in this volume and their relationship to Pietism.

> Among the Swedish and Danish psalm composers of this period are found "great ones of first caliber." The Scandinavian psalm writing is now having its glorious summer. Bible-true, powerful, deep and lofty, while at the same time plain and hearty, the psalm in Swedish, Danish and Icelandish, peals forth among all ages and ranks. It is not pietistic; but its spiritual appeal and worth really harks back to the psalm singing of the previous period. Pietism did not immediately gain progress in Sweden. First in 1706 did it seem necessary through royal proclamation to warn against this movement and stipulate punishment for its adherents, a measure which subsequently was sharpened by the sadly notorious "conventicle promulgation" of 1726. That certain psalms from that time have a pietistic flavor cannot be denied,

> but few, if any of that kind can be found in the Swedish Psalm Book of 1695, the Psalm Book full of living faith so important to the church.[28]

With this bit of controversial information as background, one of Swedberg's hymns is herewith submitted for comparison with one by Arrhenius. The latter's hymn definitely shows a bent toward the more intimate relationship between a man and his God as expressed in Pietism.

O Lord, give heed unto our plea,
O Spirit, grant Thy graces,
That we who put our trust in Thee
May rightly sing Thy praises.
Thy Word, O Christ, unto us give,
That grace and pow'r we may receive
To follow Thee, Our Master.

Touch Thou the shepherd's lips, O Lord,
That in this blessed hour
He may proclaim Thy sacred Word
With unction and with power.
What Thou wouldst have Thy servant say,
Put Thou into his heart, we pray.
With grace and strength to say it.

Let heart and ear be opened wide
Unto Thy Word and pleading;
Our minds, O Holy Spirit, guide
By Thine own light and leading.
The law of Christ we would fulfill,
And walk according to His will,
His Word our rule of living.[29]

Jesper Swedberg

Jesus is my Friend most precious,
Never friend did love as He
Can I leave this Friend so gracious,
Spurn His wondrous love for me?
No! nor friend nor foe shall sever
Me from Him who loves me so;
His shall be my will forever,
There above, and here below.

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[28] Thomander and Wieselgren, op. cit., p. xiii.

[29] The Hymnal and Order of Service, (Rock Island: Augustana Book Concern, 1925), Hymn No. 348.

Bitter death for me He suffered;
From all guilt He set me free;
To His Father He hath offered
Everlasting prayers for me.
Who is he that would condemn me?
Christ hath saved me by His grace;
Who can from my Saviour draw me?
I am safe in His embrace.

Now I am convinced that never
Life or death can sever me
From my blessed Lord and Saviour;
Present things, nor things to be,
Height nor depth, nor fear nor favor,
Naught that heaven or earth affords
Makes the sacred promise waver:
"Ye are Christ's, and He's the Lord's."[30]
Jacob Arrhenius

In addition to the hymns of Pietism native to Scandinavia, many were imported from Germany to enhance the treasury of pietistic song. Among the many German poets and translators who were influenced by Pietism, the following from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries have been included in Swedish hymnals to the present day:

Carl H. von Bogatzky (1690-1744)
Christian F. Gellert (1715-1769)
Johann F. Herzog (1647-1699)
Philip F. Hiller (1699-1769)
Johann J. Rambach (1693-1735)
Christian F. Richter (1676-1711)
Johann A. Rothe (1688-1758)
Benjamin Schmolck (1672-1737)
Gerhard Tersteegen (1697-1769)

The pietistic emphasis in the hymns of these authors is typified in a stanza of one of Gellert's hymns:

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[30] *Ibid.*, Hymn No. 470.

When I approach Thine altar, Lord,
May I this comfort cherish,
That on the cross Thy blood was poured
For me, lest I should perish.
Thou didst for me God's law fulfill,
That holy joy my heart might thrill,
When on Thy love I'm feasting.[31]

During the nineteenth century a sizeable number of "popular" hymnals were released for use by the various church groups in Scandinavia. For the most part the "free-churchly" influence is seen in the rather sentimental, lightly sung, and lively spiritual songs which marked a low ebb in the chorale tradition.[32] The following books listed by Olson are but a few of the many which were made available during the Romantic period. In one or two instances there are repetitions from Chapter Four.

Andeliga Sånger från America

Församlings Sångboken (seventy-eight songs arranged for mixed voices by Haeffner)

Ahnfeltsångerna

Canaan

Sions Nya Sånger

Nöd och Nåd

Fridsånger Album

Sabbatsklockon

Davidsharpan

Fridstoner

Andeliga Quartter

Sionstoner

Stridssånger[33]

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[31] Ibid., Hymn No. 237.

[32] Lundholm, op. cit., p. 33.

[33] Op. cit., p. 116.

Much of the music in these collections was of folk song character. Swedish music is a combination of the gay and serious; Danish songs tended toward the major and the Norwegian melodies are predominantly in the minor key. Some songs reflect the influence of dancing tunes and some border on the love-ditty. While there is a preponderance of national folk idioms, some song books such as Missionsånger (Uppsala 1887) makes use of both German and English folk melodies. The parody technic was adopted by some composers, especially for the Salvation Army song books. The publication by C. J. Stockenberg, Kyrkosång i Skolan uses one hundred chorale melodies which are parodies of folk tunes.[34]

The collection by Stenhammar, Congregational Songs, referred to earlier in this chapter, contains seventy-eight chorales by Haeffner and ninety-two from English and American song collections. Much of the music is in lively 6/8 time. The Swedish texts have been altered to fit the melodies from collections such as Jubilee Singers and Redeeming Love. American composers such as Ira Sankey and Philip Bliss are well represented in this collection, as well as native composers of Scandinavia with their original melodies and harmonizations.

Hymnals and collections from the various free-church denominations made their appearance at the close of the nineteenth and early in the twentieth century. Many of these have been referred to earlier in this study.

In Norway the influence of Hauge in the early 19th century resulted in a decline in the music of the church. In addition to those of Lindeman, the free-church movement brought into use many other hymn settings which did much harm to the singing of the traditional chorales.

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[34] Olson, op. cit., p. 117.

Influence of Free-Church Hymnody on the Hymnody of the State Church

This study has revealed that the free church exerted a reciprocal relationship on the hymnody of the State Church in Scandinavia. The life and hymns of J. O. Wallin and Lina Sandell-Berg and their relationship to the hymnody of both branches of the church have already been dealt with in some detail. Little has been said concerning the influence of Pietism and the free-church movement on them personally, which caused them to express in warm, personal terms the reality of their faith. Many others like them who did not separate from the state-church body felt the influence of the new denominations and expressed warm sympathy with their cause. Two hymnists who are representative of this group are Anna Ölander (1861-1932) and Carl Wilhelm Skarstedt (1815-1908).

Anna Ölander was born into a pastor's family. In her early years she began to write poetry and stories and between 1890 and 1920 she published several collections of her own works under many different titles. She had a special interest in writing for children and young people. One of her hymns expresses an exhortation to youth: "Youth in the spring of life; time is short." At the request of Karl Fries she wrote a large number of original texts and also translated many songs for the K. M. F. U. (Y.M.C.A.) songbook which was published in 1900. Among her originals are the following titles:

Thy Word, O Jesus, Let Us Be Still
Do All You Can for the Great Countless Masses
God, Above All Lands and People
Earth Can Give No Satisfaction

One of her foremost hymns which has found its way into many songbooks to the present day is entitled, "If I Gained the World But Lost the Savior." Lövgren analyzes Anna Ölander's religious faith and outlook as follows:

> Anna Ölander's holiness message savors of the Anglican type. It is easy to find resemblances between hers and, for example, Frances Havergal and Mary James, of the Methodist persuasion. Sanctification is not a goal she considers herself to have reached, but something to strive for. Seriously she tries to lift her wings over worldly things, but she does not attain to the heights she would like to.[35]

She may be considered to have been a member of the low-church branch of Lutheranism which was very sympathetic to the pietistic cause.

Carl Skarstedt studied at Uppsala University and was ordained to the Lutheran ministry in 1841. He attained to the Doctor of Philosophy degree in 1842. His varied ministry included that of pastor, teacher, dean at the Halmstad's Educational Institute, and docent at the University in Lund. From 1865 he was professor in practical theology and biblical exegesis at the latter institution. In his youth he became interested in the doctrines and preaching of Schartau which accounted for his own personal piety and pietistic outlook. At the turn of the century he allied himself more with the low-church emphasis exemplified in Thomander and Wieselgren. His strong interest and attachment to foreign missions caused him to publish anonymously in 1861 the collection, Christliga Missionsånger, (Christian Mission Songs).[36]

In seeking to determine how extensively free-church hymnody has been used by the state-church bodies, representative hymnals from the State Church in Scandinavia and related groups in America have been analyzed by this writer through an examination of these individual books. In addition to the composers and poets who definitely identified themselves with the free-church groups, several from pietistic circles in Germany and Scandinavia, such as Lina Sandell-Berg and J. A. Freylinghausen have been included. For all practical purposes they belong in this category, since their contributions to both the state and free-church hymnody are of equal importance. In addition, English and American songs have also been considered.

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[35] Lövgren, op. cit., III, p. 142.

[36] Lövgren, Lexikon, op. cit., p. 640.

Sweden

Den Svenska Koralboken of 1939 contains the texts of the Psalmbok of 1937 as well as the musical settings for use with the latter volume. Over 600 selections are included, representing texts and melodies from the early years of the Christian Church through the twentieth century. Since information on authors was unavailable, the task involved comparing the contents of both the Lutheran book and the latest Swedish Baptist hymnal to determine the authorship of at least the hymns used in both books.

The hymns of writers with pietistic leanings and sympathies in Scandinavia include such names as Lina Sandell-Berg, S. J. Hedborn, Jeanne Oterdahl, Olof Kolmodin, Carl O. Rosenius, Lars Linderot, Hans A. Brorson and Anders Frostenson. The 1939 hymnal also contains the hymns of other hymnists from the State Church who expressed themselves in the warm pietistic style and who had an appeal to the Pietist and free-church groups. These include Sigrid Dahlquist, Paul Nilsson, Natanael Beskow, Emil Liedgren, Erik G. Geijer, Wilhelm A. Wexels, and Johan L. Runeberg. Pietistic writers from outside Scandinavia are represented by a relatively few hymns in this latest Swedish Lutheran hymnal. Johann A. Rothe and

J. A. Frehlinghausen have one hymn each in this collection; two Huguenot melodies are also used.

Hymns by authors directly connected with the free-church groups of Scandinavia have not been selected in great numbers. The one hymnist whose name appears more than any other is Betty Ehrenborg-Posse with four hymns and translations. Oscar Ahnfelt stands next to Mrs. Posse with a representation of three hymns and tunes. The Methodist hymnist Jacob T. Jacobsson can lay claim to one hymn in this hymnal.

English and American poets and composers have a fair representation in the Lutheran hymnal of Sweden. The hymns and tunes of such well known persons as Charles Wesley, Isaac Watts, Thomas Toplady, William Cowper, Reginald Heber, and Sara Adams from England, and Philip Bliss, Lowell Mason, and Lydia Baxter from America, have been accorded a small place among the several hundred in this volume.

Among the well-known hymns from all sources connected with Pietism and the free-church movement the following are contained in this monumental work:

Rock of Ages - Toplady, Hastings

Blott en dag (Day by Day) - Lina Sandell-Berg, Oscar Ahnfelt

Nearer My God to Thee - Sarah Adams, Lowell Mason

Abide With Me - Francis Lyte, William Monk

Trygare kan ingen vara (Children of the Heavenly Father) - Lina Sandell-Berg

Home Sweet Home (an adaptation by Lina Sandell-Berg with the familiar melody)

Denmark

Salme Bog for Kirke og Hjem is the official hymnal of the Lutheran Church in Denmark. The edition made available for this study is that of 1927. The hymns of Brorson, Grundtvig, Kingo, and Ingemann dominate the contents of this hymnal as they do in the hymnals of the Danish free churches. As has already been noted, Brorson had the strongest pietistic leanings of these national poets. The strong national spirit is exemplified by the use of so many hymns of Danish authorship in both the free-church and Lutheran hymnals. A cursory examination of the contents reveals that although Brorson has a considerable number of hymns in this hymnal those of the other national poets, particularly Kingo and Grundtvig, exceed his in number.

Other Scandinavian poets of pietistic tendencies whose hymns are included in this hymnal include Peder J. Hygom, bishop of Aarhus, Israel Kolmodin, Christian F. Wadskiaer who worked on the Pontopiddan psalm book, Jacob P. M. Paulli, a participant in the work of the Inner Mission, and Hans Agerbek whose poems and preaching exerted considerable influence on those seeking a more "complete" religious experience.

Several Pietists from the Halle school are represented among the hymnists in the Danish Lutheran hymnal. The most noted is J. A. Freylinghausen who contributed both texts and melodies. Others from Halle include J. J. Breithaupt, a theological professor, J. D. Herrnschmidt who succeeded August Francke as professor at the University of Halle, and C. F. Richter, one of the noted song writers of the Halle Pietists. Musical settings from the Dormstadter Songbook of 1699 are also included in this hymnal. This was a pioneer work in the hymnody of Pietism and a forerunner of the Freylinghausen collection. Hymns by Johan A. Rothe of the Herrnhut group and Laurentius Laurenti of Bremen are included in this selection. Laurenti is reputed to have been the greatest of the pietistic hymn writers.

Among the many chorales from pietistic sources in the Menighedens Melodier collection are several from the Pontoppidan book, including some by C. F. Breitendich who made many two-voiced settings for the Pontoppidan book. Christian Gregor, the noted Moravian composer and Herrnhut organist and publisher also is represented. Several songs by Christian Richter, the talented preacher and song writer in the song circles of Halle, are found in this collection.

America is represented by just a few hymn melodies, so the influence from this source has not been extensive or significant. "Stand Up, Stand Up for Jesus" by Duffield and Webb and "Ring the Bells of Heaven" are borrowed from Sankeys Sånger. W. H. Doane, the popular American song writer has contributed the well-known tune, "Ring the Bells of Heaven."

The latest chorale book from Denmark examined in this study is Den Danske Koralbog edited by Jens Peter Larsen and Magens Wöldike, published in 1954. Two pietistic sources have furnished melodies for this collection. Ten tunes of Freylinghausen and just one from the Pontoppidan book are included. From America come six melodies composed by Lowell Mason, Joseph Barnby, J. B. Dykes, and W. H. Monk.

Norway

The Norwegian State Church continues to make use of M. B. Lanstad's Kirkesalmebok and the Koralbog for Den Norske Kirke. From among the many hymns of the pietistic and free-church writers a comparable number to those chosen for the other two Lutheran hymnals are included in these books. Johann Rothe, J. A. Freylinghausen and Carl H. Bogatzky represent the contributions of German Pietism. Foremost among the Norwegian hymnists in the number of entries in their hymnal is William A. Wexels whose contribution to Scandinavian hymnody has already been discussed in detail. Ten of his hymns appear in Lanstad's hymnal. Others of the free-church, conservative hymnists of Norway whose "spiritual songs" have been included are Johannes Johnson, Elevine Heede, and Ole T. Moe. Hans Brorson and J. P. Paulli represent the Danish contribution found among the selections in this hymnal. Pietistic, Swedish influence on Norwegian Lutheran hymnody is seen in the inclusion of several hymns by Lina Sandell-Berg and J. O. Wallin and in addition hymns by Olof Kolmodin, Betty Ehrenborg-Posse and Lars Linderot.

Pertinent to this aspect of this study is an analysis of each of three Lutheran hymnals of America with Scandinavian background and the Concordia Hymnal of the Lutheran Free Church. These were examined relative to the content of free-church and pietistic hymns of Scandinavian origin found in them. The hymnal Hemlandssånger first published in 1892 is really in a class by itself because of its close association with Swedish hymnody in the early days of Swedish settlements in this country. The four hymnals are listed with representative free-church and pietistic authors:

The Hymnal (Augustana Synod)

- O. Ahnfelt
- Lina Sandell-Berg
- Hans Brorson
- Agatha Rosenius
- Carl O. Rosenius
- Andreas C. Rutström

Hymnal for Church and Home (Danish Lutheran)

Hans Brorson: twenty originals and seventeen translations

Peder Hygom

Magnus Lanstad

J. P. Paulli

O. Ahnfelt

Hemlandssånger (Augustana Synod-Swedish)

Joel Blomquist

Olof Kolmodin

Lars Linderot

Magnus Malmstedt

Gustav Palmquist

Betty Ehrenborg-Posse

Carol O. Rosenius

Agatha Rosenius

A. C. Rutström

Peder Syreen

Teodor Truvé

Paul Peter Waldenström

The following sources of musical settings are represented in this hymnal:

Mose och Lamsens Wisor

Syreens Sånger

Fridshasunen

Sionstoner

Pilgrimssånger

Pilgrimsharpen

The Concordia Hymnal (Lutheran Free Church)

Lina Sandell-Berg

Hans Brorson

Hans Nelson Hauge

Magnus Lanstad

Betty Ehrenborg-Posse

Carol O. Rosenius

Summary

While both the state church and the free-church denominations have borrowed from the hymnody of each other the balance has not been of equal proportions. This particular study has revealed a much heavier borrowing of state church hymns and musical settings by the free churches than was true of the compilers and editors of the state church hymnals. This seems to point up the fact that the tradition of state-church hymnody continues to exert considerable influence on the pietistic and free-church groups in the compilation of their hymnals. As has been asserted in a previous chapter, the conservative leanings of the state church in the Scandinavian countries has provided more "spiritual" songs from within its ranks. This is true particularly in Norway and Denmark, and seems to be a logical outcome of such a situation. While the number of borrowings from the hymns of the free churches has not been as great, it is of real significance that the older established church should have seen fit to recognize and utilize the hymns of a sizeable number of free-church authors and composers.

CHAPTER VI

THE PRESENT STATUS OF SCANDINAVIAN FREE-CHURCH HYMNODY

The hymnody of the Scandinavian Free Churches of the present time is in a state of progress, particularly among the major denominations. The constant revising and re-editing of the older editions of free-church hymnals and the publication of entirely new ones substantiates this conclusion. The following list of the major hymnals used in this study indicates the concern of the free-church groups that their hymnody be kept up to date:

Salme og Sangbog (Danish Baptist), 1928
Sions Harpe (Norwegian Methodist), 1949
Evangelisten (Norwegian Baptist), 1953
Salmebog (Norwegian Methodist), 1953
Salmer og Sange (Danish Missionsforbundet), 1954
Maran Ata (Norwegian Pentecostal), 1955
Sånger och Psalmer (Swedish Missionsförbundet), 1955
Evangelie-toner (Danish Pentecostal), 1956
Pilgrimstoner (Free Baptist of Sweden), 1957
Salmer og Sanger (Danish Misjonforbund), 1961
Segertoner (Swedish Pentecostal), 1961
Psalm och Sång (Swedish Baptist), 1966

Preceding chapters have dealt with the relationship of these hymnals to state-church hymnody. A final analysis of each hymnal has been undertaken to determine the present hymnological interests of the denomination it represents and current trends within the group.

Sweden

Psalm och Sång

This hymnal is significant in being the very latest publication by a free-church denomination in Scandinavia. Although significant contributions by foreign authors and composers have been included in sizeable numbers, the Scandinavian element has not been entirely neglected. In addition to approximately 180 entries of German chorale melodies, there are forty-five musical settings derived from Swedish sources. From the other Scandinavian countries only six melodies have been used in this hymnal.

In contrast to the small percentage of Swedish melodies used in Psalm och Sång, Swedish and other Scandinavian poems have a significant representation. While only nineteen German authors are represented, sixty-six Scandinavian hymnists have provided hymns for this Swedish Baptist hymnal. The following listing according to countries shows the distribution among Scandinavian hymnists:

Sweden:	Baptist Union,	22
	Örebro Mission,	4
	Missionsförbundet,	18
	Total	44
Norway,		9
Denmark,		13

Finland,	13
Total	35

The most popular hymnists according to the number of entries are Lina Sandell-Berg with forty-five originals and translations and J. O. Wallin who contributed fifty-one hymns. While the German melodies are preponderant in *Psalm och Sång*, several hundred texts from Scandinavia still give this book a decided Scandinavian flavor.

Hymns from England and America, particularly those of the revival period of the nineteenth century, have had an appeal to the free-church people of Scandinavia. The hymns of many popular song writers are included in *Psalm och Sång*, representing a total of approximately 120 selections. Fanny Crosby, Horatius Bonar, Baring-Gould, William Booth, Isaac Watts, Charles Wesley, Philip Bliss and many others are well represented in this most recently published volume of the Baptists of Sweden.

Pilgrimstoner

The Free Baptists of Sweden have been quite provincial in their selection of authors and hymns for their official hymnal. Approximately 136 Scandinavian authors have contributed 450 of the 560 hymns contained in this hymnal. Of the remaining hymns, fifty-nine are of American or English origin. Sharing honors with Lina Sandell-Berg and J. O. Wallin is Anders Hanson with eighty-two of his songs included in this publication, the largest number by a single author. In addition to Hanson twenty other hymnists of the Free Baptist denomination have hymns in this collection. Their contribution numbers seventy-four hymn texts collectively, with Joel Fridén the next highest contender to Hanson. Fifteen of his hymns are in *Pilgrimstoner*. Among the non-Baptists whose texts are in this hymnal, Nils Frykman is represented by fifteen hymns.

Even though there is a sizeable number of hymns by foreign authors in Pilgrimstoner, the preponderance of those of Scandinavian origin makes this hymnal decidedly Scandinavian in character.

Sånger och Psalmer

The official hymnal of Missionsförbundet in Sweden is an example of one of the more progressive hymnals of the Scandinavian free-church groups. Both the scope of its contents and the international representation of its authors and composers indicate a broad outlook on the part of the compilers of this monumental work. Great hymns of the past and present have been given a place within its covers.

Most of the authors of Scandinavian background are Swedish, and total in excess of 135; these are represented by nearly 350 hymns in addition to scores of translations by some of the more prominent authors. Including translations and original poems in the Scandinavian language, the total number of works by Swedish, Danish, Norwegian and Finnish poets amounts to more than half of the contents of this hymnal. Among the hymnists of all the countries represented, J. O. Wallin's hymns and translations total fifty-four, while fifty-one of Lina Sandell-Berg's hymns are included in Sånger och Psalmer.

Several hymn writers of Missionsförbundet have been mentioned in Chapter Four. Although their contributions to their denominational hymnal cannot compare numerically with Wallin's or Mrs. Berg's, it is worth noting that the total number of hymns by these authors is approximately one hundred; this figure includes some translation by Johan Erik Nystrom. Other prominent hymnists in this group include Carl

Boberg, Joel Blomquist, Nils Frykman and Selma Sundelius Lagerström. Boberg is represented by thirty-two hymns; Frykman follows close with twenty-six and Blomquist with thirteen. Mrs. Lagerstrom and Nystrom each have contributed eight hymns.

In addition to the entries from state-church hymnody, the Missionsförbund has included hymns from well-known British and American sources. Watts, Wesley, Cowper, and Fawcett from England, and nineteenth century American gospel song writers have been given a prominent place among the hymnists chosen for this volume. Hymn texts from the early centuries of the Christian Church as well as old texts from Europe have been translated; their place in this hymnal as well as the inclusion of eighty--three texts from the twentieth century make this hymnal of inestimable value in providing this particular denomination with the great hymns of the past and present. Although there is a natural inclination toward Swedish hymns in this particular hymnal, it is worth noting that nearly half of its contents comes from sources outside of the Scandinavian countries.

The selection of melodies and musical settings from the early years of the church to the present time parallels the choice of hymn texts. Representation by countries shows the international flavor of Sånger och Psalmer. The sources for the musical settings and melodies used in this hymnal are set forth in the following tabulation. Significant numbers from any one source are included in parentheses.

1. Early melodies:
   4th and 5th centuries and Middle Ages
2. French (11)
3. Danish (5)

4. Swedish (39)
5. American
6. Huguenot Psalm Melodies (12)
7. Freylinghausen Sangbok
8. Herrnhut
9. Norwegian
10. Well-known English and American Melodies
11. Melodies from the following collections:
    a. Sånger till Lammets lof
    b. Brödraförsamling
    c. Hemlandstoner
    d. Sionstoner
    e. Pilgrimstoner
    f. Pilgrims Sånger
    g. Finska koralboken
    h. Ahnfelts Sånger
    i. Jubelklangen, 1896
    j. Sions nya sånger, 1857
    k. Fridsbosunen
    l. Sanningsvittnet
    m. Segertoner
12. Composers of the twentieth century (45)

Metodistkyrkans Psalmbok

The hymnal for Swedish Methodists presents an interesting contrast to the Baptist and Missionsförbundet hymnals. It should be noticed that J. O. Wallin and Lina Sandell-Berg share the honors once again, each having more hymns in this hymnal than any other poet. Thirty-three of

Wallin's are used compared with forty-four of Mrs. Berg's. For a denominational hymnal, this of the Methodists does not draw heavily on its own resources. Naturally one would expect to find several of Charles Wesley's hymns among the nearly seven hundred which make up this hymnal. Charles Wesley's hymns number twenty-eight while four of his brother John's have been chosen.

The percentage of hymns of Swedish Methodist poets is relatively small, which is somewhat the case of the contributions of Swedish Baptists to Psalm och Sång. Jacob Jacobsson has the highest number of hymns in the Methodist hymnal. Thirteen of his hymns have been used while Victor Witting's hymns number only four. While the Missionsförbund has drawn heavily on the poems of its own members, the Baptists and Methodists seemingly have not so availed themselves. While there is a definite preponderance of Scandinavian hymns in the Methodist collection, the choice of hymns has been spread among many poets as is the case with the Baptist hymnal. Practically all of the well-known hymnists previously mentioned in this study are represented by one or two hymns.

American and British hymns have a peculiar attraction to the Swedish Methodists, particularly the American. A cursory examination of their hymnal turns up several hymns by leading song writers, particularly of the American "revival period" of the nineteenth century. Tunes and texts are in significant amounts in this volume. Since Swedish Methodism was greatly influenced by American Methodists, it follows naturally that American hymnody would have an appeal. Fanny Crosby seems to be a favorite among Swedish Methodists as is evidenced by the choice of thirteen of her hymns. Isaac Watts, John Newton, and Francis

Havergal are representative of the many British hymnists whose hymns have been selected for this hymnal.

The music of the Methodist hymnal presents a wide variety of types. In addition to the musical settings from collections, melodies and harmonizations of Scandinavian composers have been utilized for this hymnal. The materials are from sixty-five composers representing a total of 184 hymn tunes. Among those whose hymn tunes have been selected in sizeable number are Oscar Ahnfelt with fourteen; Erik Lindgren and Johan Lindberg have ten and nine respectively. The Methodists have used the music of several organists throughout the hymnal. In addition to the tunes of Erik Lindgren who was at one time organist at Saint Peter's Methodist Church in Stockholm, music for the Methodist hymnal has been supplied by the following organists:

Johan Alfred Ahlström (1883-1910)
Andreas Peter Berggren (1801-1880)
Julius Alfred Dahlöf (1871-1913)
Algot Eklöf (1875-1938)
Fredrik August Ekström (1819-1901)
August Elfåker (1851-1914)
Oscar Fredrik Lindberg (1870-1931)
Ludwig Matthias Lindeman (1812-1887)
Albert Esaias Lindström (1853-1935)
Johan Erik Nordblom (1788-1848)
Otto Olsson (b. 1879)
Wilhelm Theodor Soderberg (1845-1922)
Viktor Patrik Vretblod (1876-1953)
G. Torsten G. Wall (b. 1902)

Fredrik Wallentin (b. 1885)

N. Henry P. Weman (b. 1897)

Christoph E. F. Weyse (1774-1842)

Ivar Wideen (1871-1951)

In addition to the many organists whose hymn settings appear in the hymnal, the roster of composers also contains the names of musical directors, teachers, and pastors, many of whom have been connected with the ministry of the State Church. Also a significant number of American composers of the Gospel Song era are represented among the musical settings of this hymnal, i.e. Charlotte Barnard, Philip Bliss, Charles Converse, William H. Doane, Charles Gabriel, Robert Lowry, James McGranahan, George Root, Ira Sankey, George Stebbins and Isaac Woodbury. The inclusion of musical arrangements from these sources plus adaptations of melodies by Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven, and Bortniansky makes the Methodist hymnal an example of a well-rounded, well-balanced hymnal, worthy of emulation by other denominations.

Segertoner

The Swedish Pentecostals have produced through several editions a substantial collection of hymns and Gospel songs which has been adapted to serve the needs and emphasis of their denomination. As has been indicated in Chapter Five, the number of state-church hymns is quite substantial for this particular free-church group but is only a small percentage of the entire collection of over six hundred hymns. Running "true to form," Lina Sandell's hymns number twenty-eight, more than can be claimed by any other single poet. Only twelve hymns by J. O. Wallin have been used, and has been previously indicated, Levi Pethrus, the Pentecostals' strong leader is represented by just sixteen hymns.

Paul Ongman runs a close second to Pethrus with sixteen entries, some of which are arrangements and adaptations of borrowed melodies.

The hymns of Scandinavian pietistic and free-church hymnists make up a considerable portion of the contents of Segertoner. A variety of poets from various denominational groups about which this study has been concerned is represented although not in great numbers. The list of poets and composers whose works appear in this hymnal in great abundance could well have been lifted bodily from an American hymnal. The Pentecostals have been more inclined toward American hymnody, particularly that of the nineteenth century, than any of the groups under study. Fanny Crosby, Philip Bliss, James McGranahan, William Kirkpatrick, William Bradbury, and Charles Gabriel are among the many from America whose hymns and tunes have been adopted by the Swedish Pentecostal Church.

Another significant feature of Segertoner is the presence of over two dozen songs from the Swedish Psalmbook. While it is true that the majority of these songs were written by J. O. Wallin and others whose sympathy and emphasis were with the free-church movement, nevertheless, it is worth noting that this extremely conservative group within this movement has seen fit to include these songs in its hymnal. This is indicative of their universal and ecumenical appeal.

Denmark

The hymnody of the Danish Baptists has been dealt with rather completely in Chapters Four and Five and little remains to be said concerning its present status. The 1928 revision of Salme-og-Sangbog differs very little from that of 1916. Both editions contain 533 hymns, and as has been previously mentioned, approximately half are from state-church hymnists and the writers of the Danish pietistic groups. Because of the strong nationalistic feeling among the Danes, only thirty-two poets from England and America are included among the selections in the hymnal, with usually just one hymn from each poet. Borrowing has not been abundant. A study of their hymnal reveals an apparently less progressive spirit among the Danish Baptists, perhaps in reality only a desire to remain nationalistic in their choice of hymns.

Salmebog

The Danish Methodists, likewise, exhibit a strong nationalistic feeling regarding their hymnody. Like the Baptists, the Methodists have drawn heavily on state-church hymnody as well as from other Danish sources. The Danish Methodists are well represented by twelve poets and approximately sixty hymns beside numerous translations. Alberta Eltholtz shares honors with Lina Sandell-Berg as a prominent hymn writer and translator among the Danes. While Mrs. Berg has comparatively few of her hymns in this hymnal, Alberta Eltholtz's hymns are twenty-eight in number. Anton Bast and Nels Mann, who were Danish Methodist clergymen, wrote several hymns of which nine by Bast and twelve by Mann were selected for the official hymnal. All three of the above mentioned poets made substantial contributions to this book by their several translations from various sources. Even though the Methodist hymnal has drawn heavily on Danish sources, a more progressive spirit than the Baptists is evident in the inclusion of many more hymns from English and American sources. As has been indicated before, the borrowing from England and America has been mainly of nineteenth century hymnody. Eighty-two hymns from sixty-nine English and American authors are found among the contents of this hymnal. These figures indicate that no one author has been a favorite, except that nine of Fanny Crosby's hymns were selected. The Danish Methodists have exhibited a desire for "sampling" among the many English and American hymns.

Evangelie-toner

This hymnal of the Danish Pentecostals is in a class by itself. Little favoritism is shown for any one poet with the exception of T. B. Barratt, the Pentecostal leader in Scandinavia. Fifteen of his hymns are in Evangelie-toner. Fanny Crosby is next in line as a favorite with twelve of her hymns being selected for this hymnal. Two general observations will suffice to evaluate the present choice of the Pentecostals of Denmark: nearly all of the Danish hymns chosen are of the free-church tradition with special emphasis on those of J. P. Santon of the Danish Missionförbund; there is a wide variety of English and American songs, with the heavier emphasis on the American "Gospel" song. This hymnal, because of its contents having been chosen from among scores of hymnists, is another good example of a "sampler" collection.

Salmer og Sange

The hymnists among the Danish Missionförbund are few in number. Merely a half dozen are mentioned in the directory of authors in Salmer og Sange. This denomination is indebted to Jorgen Peter Santon (1878-1944) for eighteen hymns in this collection, and Emil Larsen (b. 1900) and Viggo Ramvold (b. 1914) both of whom contributed several translations from various sources.

As has been the case with the other denominational hymnals, a large proportion of hymns are by authors from other free-church groups in Scandinavia. Five hymns by T. B. Barratt and six by Lina Sandell-Berg make these the largest representations by single poets.

Anglo-American influence is seen in Salmer og Sange in the seventy-seven hymns of American and English origin chosen from the poems of an appreciable number of writers. Fanny Crosby again has been revealed as a favorite poet in the Scandinavian free-church people. Twelve of her hymns are used in this collection. The names of well-known writers previously mentioned are in evidence in this Missionsforbund's book, presenting a cross section of evangelical hymns of England and the Gospel songs of America, with perhaps greater inclination toward the latter type.

Norway

Evangelisten

The Norwegian Baptist hymnal, Evangelisten, shows an almost equal balance between the hymnody of the Scandinavian free church and American hymnody. The total of American hymns is approximately 115, with the hymns of Fanny Crosby and Philip Bliss numbering nineteen and thirteen respectively. The total number of hymns by free-church authors is in excess of 110. Six of T. B. Barratt's hymns are in this category. Lina Sandell-Berg is a favorite with Norwegian Baptists as is shown by the inclusion of twenty-one of her texts in their hymnal. Hymns from Great Britain are in considerable number with a total of sixty-seven, including a half-dozen hymns each from Havergal, Watts, and Wesley.

Evangelisten exemplifies further the influence from America in the choice of many tunes from such composers as William Bradbury, William H. Doane, Lowell Mason, George Stebbins and others from the church scene of nineteenth century America. In addition to American tunes, several koralbog melodies are used as well as folk melodies from the European countries including Scandinavia.

Salmer og Sanger

The Norwegian Misjonsforbund hymnal presents a similar compilation, as does the Baptist Evangelisten, the only difference being in the total contribution from the several sources. Nearly 150 hymns of Scandinavian free-church origin were chosen with the honors once again going to Mrs. Berg whose hymns total twenty-six; the balance of these hymns is quite well distributed among the hymn writers typified by Joel Blomquist, Nils Frykman, T. B. Barrat, and Matias Orheim, the blind Norwegian hymnist, twelve of whose hymns are included. Approximately seventy-five selections of American and British authors appear in this hymnal, and as has been the case in the majority of hymnals examined in this study, most of the texts are from the popular nineteenth century romantic era.

Over one hundred musical settings from American Gospel-song composers have been used by the compilers of Salmer og Sanger, one of the larger numbers in these hymnals used in this study. This is another testimony to the popularity of American tunes among the people of the Scandinavian free-church groups.

Sions Harpe

The Methodist Church of Norway has produced a noteworthy volume in its official hymnal, Sions Harpe. The list of authors contains the names of the popular ones who appear in all of the free-church hymnals, and in addition the names of many lesser-known poets from Scandinavia.

These poets, numbering approximately twenty-five, set this hymnal apart from those of the other denominations. Philip Bliss and Fanny Crosby seem to be the popular American writers since more of their hymns are included than of the other popular Americans. Nearly equal honors are shared by Charles Wesley and T. B. Barratt in the number of their hymns chosen for this book. Nine of Wesley's are included compared to eight by Barratt. Otherwise the rest of the free-church hymns are spread quite evenly among the several well-known writers.

In addition to the abundance of hymn settings by well-known American, British, and Scandinavian composers, several interesting and almost novel melodies are used in this particular hymnal. The peak of American influence is seen in the use of two popular tunes: "The Battle Hymn of the Republic," used with the text, and the melody to Stephen Foster's immortal song, "Swanee River." The latter is a setting for one of T. B. Barratt's texts.

The most striking inclusions from among the many American and British tunes and texts are the two national anthems with their appropriate melodies: "The Star Spangled Banner" and "God Save the King!" The texts are in English translation. The choice of these songs brings the Norwegian people close to American and British life and culture. As with the rest of the hymnals under analysis, there is a good selection of folk tunes from Scandinavia, the continent, and even one from Spain.

Maran Ata

The hymnal of the Pentecostals in Norway contains in excess of 700 hymns. In the back of the hymnal is a section containing short selections which would compare to the American "Gospel Chorus" of a generation ago. The complete hymnal, words and music, is so large that it has been published in two volumes. An examination of the contents reveals that the founder of Norwegian Pentecostalism, T. B. Barratt, has been the driving force and inspiration. No previous author exceeds Barratt in the number of hymns included in the volumes under study. Allowing for errors, the number of Barratt's hymns in Maran Ata is in excess of one hundred. Levi Pethrus, who bears the same relationship to Swedish Pentecostals as Barratt does to the Norwegian, has hardly a token number of hymns in Segertoner, compared with the number of Barratt's hymns in the Norwegian book. Barratt's contact with the "Four Square" group is reflected in the inclusion of one of Aimee Semple McPherson's hymns. The rest of the contents consists of hymns by Scandinavian free-church poets and the well-known English and American poets of the nineteenth century.

The melodies in Maran Ata are marked by the excessive use of dotted rhythms and notes of short value, as is characteristic of many of the American "Gospel" songs. Swedish and Norwegian folk melodies provide a sizeable number of musical settings as has been characteristic of the other free-church hymnals. Once again the choice of distinctly American tunes is noteworthy. Not only is "Swanee River" used in this collection but the southern American tradition is further seen in the choice of "Old Black Joe" with an adaptation of the text in Norwegian by T. B. Barratt! (His contacts in America must have made deep impressions on him.) Tune and text arrangements of such well-known

American Gospel Songs as "His Eye is on the Sparrow" point to the fascination this type of song has had for the Norwegian Pentecostals.

Summary

The examination of these several hymnals has revealed what has been taking place among the people of the Scandinavian free-church tradition. Almost without exception they have been compiled with the view to giving each particular denomination not only an anthology of hymns in the Scandinavian, European, British and American traditions, but a practical tool for public praise and private devotion. It has been interesting to note the way melodies and harmonies have been changed. A case in point is the indication by perforated line of sections of the musical settings to be used as introcutions for congregational singing. The hymnals of the Swedish Baptist and Missionsförbundet are examples of this innovation. The hymnals of both groups witness to the increased use of state-church chorales and American hymns in interesting harmonic and rhythmic arrangements (see Appendix D).

The present status of church music and hymnody in Sweden is set forth in an article by Aron Hallenberg in Vecko-Posten, the official Swedish Baptist organ, in the issue of March 17, 1966. What he writes about church music in Sweden is true to a greater or lesser degree in the other Scandinavian countries.

> Anyone who has dealt with church music during the last thirty years can testify to the fact that it has gone through a revolution during the last decade, or something similar. What during the thirties was unthinkable even as a subject for discussion in the realm of church music is now practiced without any wide protest: "Swinging" chorals, Gospel songs and Negro spirituals--and a liturgy entirely divorced from an accepted tradition.

The interest in church music is keener than ever; and the subject is discussed and practiced more lively than for a long time. The young people are engaging themselves with the new style spiritedly. One can without exaggeration state that it is the young people who point the way to a new church musical style. A constant stream of choirs for children and young people is being started. Newly passed "radical" organists and chanters endeavor to inspire the churches with novelties, and many clergymen are finding the new style quite in line with the meaning and purpose of the Gospel.

Churchgoers have all too long been lulled to sleepiness by the endless "row bands" of the Haeffnerian chorals. Now there is a return to Luther's glad chorals--which in the time of the great reformer were looked upon as spiritual ditties quite in line with the glad tidings they meant to set forth. These songs had a refreshing tempo and a lively rhythm; but they were forced into an intolerable strait jacket when the Haeffnerian choral book was issued in 1821. The note value was evened out to equal fourths, and the tempos took on the aspects of sleep-walkers. The gladsome was feared, and that in spite of the fact that the noted church composers, Bach, Handel, and Buxtehude had written catchy gladsome jubilations set to Bible texts.

Then as a kind of reaction there came the happy songs or mass revivals, often set to waltz time 6/8 beat. The church world of piety mirrored in the collar-stiff "Höga majestät vi alla" was far different from the swaying "O, sällhet stor som Herren ger" heard in the mission chapel. And it is understandable that the plain people--often with minstrelsy blood in their veins--would choose the latter alternative, looking towards a blessed life beyond earthbound toil.

The revival songs were rated as musically unworthy at the time when the present choral book was made up. The lively melodies, often written in 3-beats, were changed in rhythm, or exchanged with others, often newer compositions. But innovations are never accepted by churchgoers. Those who have grown up with the "läsare" songs find it difficult to bear with them in other versions. The flavor seems to have been lost in the texts if one does not sing them to their original melodies, however hackneyed these were thought to be.

Slowly but surely the demand for a more refreshing choral singing has won its way into the churches--thanks, naturally, to purposeful endeavor on the part of church musicians. The tempo of the chorals has increased stage by stage, so that the psalm are now often sung twice as fast as the case was thirty years ago. In the new appendix to the choral book, approved September 9, 1964, the rhythm to the chorals have been altered to the extent that they are near to the ideals of Reformation times. The churches will presumably encounter great difficulties before they learn to sing rhythmically. As an example can be mentioned the well-known "A Mighty Fortress is our God," which in its old and now renewed form has become a declamatory "visa," quite different from the straightened choral, which generations of school children have had to learn for future religious purpose. But when the church has well learned its lesson, it will happen--as an old organist expressed himself--"that there will be happy times in the church." By the introduction of the old usage of "song shifting"--alternating song between choir and audience--choral singing will come to be a significant part in the order of church service.

It was noted above that youth relates itself to participation in church music entirely differently now than in former times. Thereby some of the traditional forms of expression take on a changed character. Negro spirituals and alternate singing takes the place of what formerly was called choir song and solo. Bach is taken as a good example for "swing" also in the church. The question is, moreover, if it isn't Bach who has attracted young people into the realm of church music. The old Thomas chanter is even today an unbelievably vital musician. His polyphonic music is to young ears more attractive than the homophonic pre- and postludiums of later epochs. The linear music of Bach sharpens the mind and the rhythm is wholly in class with that which is put forth by the masters of jazz music. Many "converted" jazz musicians is a testimony to the fact that the path to classical music proceeds from pop music via Johann Sebastian Bach. This is a good recommendation for the 18th century music composer who never neglected to write "Soli Deo Gloria"--To God alone glory--on all his manuscripts.[1]

Scandinavian Free-Church Hymnody in America

Background of the Scandinavian Free Church in America

As has been indicated in Chapter Two, the founding and development of the Scandinavian free churches in America paralleled the development in the countries of Scandinavia. The history of the Baptist and

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[1] Aron Hallenberg, "Church Music on the Swing," Vecko-Posten, (March 17, 1966).

Methodist churches in particular indicates that the establishment of these groups in Scandinavia was inspired and promoted by native leaders who had been in America during the pioneer days. Many of these leaders received their education in the United States and returned to their own countries to aid in the establishment of the free churches.

The Baptists

Before 1820 there had been little emigration from Sweden, but between 1820 and 1850 about 11,000 Swedes came to America, and in the decades following considerable numbers found their way to the new country. The first Swedish Baptist congregation in the Old Country was established in 1848, and in 1852 the first Swedish Baptist Church in Rock Island was founded under the leadership of Gustav Palmquist. The three Baptist leaders in America, Palmquist, Anders Wiberg, and F. O. Nilsson, also became pioneers for the new denomination in Sweden. The Swedish Baptist movement continued to spread westward with the heaviest concentration settling in the northern Mississippi Valley. By 1870 the Baptist numbered 1500 members among thirty-four congregations and by 1920 there were 320 congregations from Maine to California with 22,000 members.

District and national organization was a natural result of the spread of the Baptist movement among the Swedes. The first conference of any magnitude was held in 1856 at Rock Island and in 1858 the four Swedish congregations in Minnesota organized themselves into the first Minnesota Baptist Conference. The Swedish Baptist denomination continued to grow and spread until at the present time the entire constituency numbers in excess of 90,000 members scattered among the approximately 600 congregations. It is now known as the Baptist General Conference.

The first Norwegian Baptist Church in America was founded in Ottawa, Illinois, in 1842 at which time the pioneer Baptist leader, Hans Valder, was baptized into that church. In 1844 Valder was ordained as the first Norwegian Baptist minister in America, and in 1853 he migrated to Minnesota and founded the town of Newburg. The Norwegian Baptist movement spread among the states of the Middle West. In Wisconsin the Norwegian Baptist work was closely associated with the Danish conference during the pioneer period. The Danish-Norwegian Conference was organized in the mid-nineteenth century and the work grew to include churches in such places as Oconomowoc, Half Way Creek, La Crosse and Milwaukee. The Minnesota Norwegian Baptist work began in 1872 at Lake Elizabeth and in 1874 the Norwegian-Danish church in Minneapolis was established.

By 1884 the number of Norwegian Baptists had grown to approximately 500 members. The Norwegian Baptist Conference of America was organized in Fargo, North Dakota, in 1910. Statistics show a rather continual growth to the year 1938, aided in great measure by financial help from the American Baptist Convention. The post-war period of the 1940's witnessed the gradual decline of the Norwegian Baptists as a group and their amalgamation into the American Baptist denomination.

It has been estimated that during the first thirty-five years of work among the Baptists of Denmark, one out of every six or seven of the Baptist converts migrated to America. The first Danish Baptist Church in America was organized in 1855 in Potter County, Pennsylvania, when nine Baptists from the Vandlose Church in Zealand, Denmark banded themselves together for work and worship. They were aided in this venture by an American Baptist colporter, Rayer by name. This little church disbanded within three years when the "Call of the West" caused some of the members to move away to greener pastures.

The first permanent Danish Baptist Church in America was founded in Racine County, Wisconsin, on November 10, 1856, when the small group of twelve charter members broke away from the American church to form their own congregation. Help continued to be solicited from American Baptist sources and in the one hundred years until 1956 eighty-four churches had been organized. The first national conference was held in Harlan, Iowa, in 1910 when a program of home and foreign missions was instituted. The statistics of this once thriving group indicate a series of mergers of the Danish churches with the American and Swedish conferences as well as the discontinuance of many others. As in the Norwegian conference, this disintegration took place during the post-war period and into the 1950's.

The Methodists

The Methodists developed their second largest language group among the Swedes. The beginning of Swedish Methodism stems from the work of Olaf Gustav Hedström (see Chapter Two) and the work on the Bethel Ship in New York Harbor. Hedström is also credited with the establishing of the first Swedish Methodist Sunday School in America. In one decade the Methodist mission to the Swedes developed from the single vessel and one missionary to seven missions with seventeen missionaries.

Methodism spread among the Swedish immigrants under the leadership of Olaf Hedström and his brother Jonas. In 1846 Jonas founded a Swedish

Methodist society in Victoria, Illinois, and from this early base his missionary activities spread through several Illinois cities and to New Sweden, Iowa. In 1850 Olaf and Jonas combined their evangelistic efforts in the Chicago area as a result of which a Chicago mission was established. In the period from 1870 to 1880 small groups of Swedish Methodists were begun in Massachusetts, and in 1895 the New England Conference was organized.

Olaf Hedström realized the need for a more permanent work in the New York area and in 1872 "went ashore" with his congregation. The edifice of Swedish Immanuel Church was dedicated in May of that year.

By the time of World War I the Swedish Methodist denomination had grown until four annual conferences were held and the work was carried on by 167 ministers among 19,815 members with 21,365 enrolled in its Sunday schools.

From this period the membership of the Swedish Methodist denomination dwindled until in the post World War II era the group gradually dissolved. Most of the members joined with the churches of American Methodism following the dissolution of the Eastern Swedish Conference in 1936.

Ole Peter Petersen, a young Norwegian sailor, became associated with the Methodists in Boston in 1843. Greatly influenced by the preaching of Olaf Hedström, he returned to his native Norway where he did missionary work among his people. Upon his return to the United States in 1850 he became a local preacher and missionary to the Norwegians in Upper Iowa. From this humble beginning the work spread into Wisconsin, Minnesota, and the Pacific Northwest. In 1884 the Norwegian-Danish Methodist Conference was organized, and by 1932 extensive work was being carried on in thirteen states in addition to work in Norway and Denmark. In 1943 this conference was dissolved and its members scattered among the American Methodist Churches.

The Evangelical Covenant Church

The Covenant denomination in America was the result of a growing dissatisfaction among many Swedish immigrants with the increased ritualism of the Augustana Synod. This situation developed because of the great number of immigrants who had been influenced by Rosenius and his brand of Pietism which stressed revivalism rather than education as a means of evangelism. These "Mission Friends," as they became known because of their establishing of Mission Societies, gradually broke away from the Augustana group. One of the earliest leaders in this separatist movement was Carl A. Björk, a cobbler and soldier, considered by many to be the founder of the Evangelical Covenant Church in America. Björk carried on a ministry of home meetings, and as a result a group broke away from the Lutheran communion and called Björk as their pastor in 1867. This new Mission Society was the beginning of the Covenant movement. A similar group was organized in Chicago in 1868. The Evangelical Lutheran Mission Synod and the Evangelical Ansgar Synod were organized in 1873 and 1874 respectively as institutions independent of the general Lutheran body. The free-church spirit characterized both of these groups, and in 1885 in the home of A. L. Skoog in Chicago they merged to form the Swedish Evangelical Mission Covenant Church of America. At this time the membership consisted of nearly fifty churches with thirty-eight pastors.

There is no close organizational tie with the Missionsforbünd in Sweden although E. A. Skogsbergh advocated a similar type organization for the American Covenant. The Evangelical Covenant Church, as it is now known, has grown into a denomination similar in size to the Swedish Baptist group, with over 500 churches and a membership of approximately 57,000.

From primary sources consulted for this study one is forced to conclude that the Pentecostal churches of Sweden, Norway, and Denmark do not have their counterpart as such among the Scandinavians in America. This is also true of the Norwegian Misjonsforbund and the Danish Missionsförbund. Evidently immigrants from among these denominations found their way into other Scandinavian denominations in America or their American equivalents. At least no formal denominational organizations are in evidence among these groups at the present time.

Hymnody of the Scandinavian Free Churches in America

Until comparatively recent years many of the Scandinavian free-church congregations used their native language in their services. Much to the dismay of the older members who cherished the native tongue, English has now quite generally supplanted the old languages in public services of worship. The ties with the mother countries have been maintained, however, through the use of the favorite hymns with their memories of bygone days in the native land.

Scandinavian Baptist Hymnody

Among the Swedish Baptists in America, Pilgrims-Sånger, published by the Palmquists in Sweden in 1859, was a favorite for many years. It was used in America until the close of the nineteenth century.

As far as can be ascertained, the hymnal Sions Basun, published in 1876, was the first hymnal to be published for use among Swedish Baptists in America. Prepared by John A. Peterson, pastor of the Bethlehem Baptist Church in Minneapolis, it was a "collection of spiritual songs for public use and private edification of God's children on the way to the heavenly Zion," according to the inscription on the title page. The foreword to the book states the purposes for its publication.

> Many who love the truth have felt a great need of truth-consonant songs suitable for special occasions, like baptismal services, the Lord's Supper etc. In view thereof the publisher has been urgently requested by a number of brethren to undertake this task. But a collection of only such songs as those mentioned above would be of far too limited in content to become of general service and edification. Therefore, the publisher and his advisors in the matter thought it best to compile a songbook which could be used, not only on special occasions but also in public services and in circumstances of every kind. The editor has therefore endeavored to make it as rich in subject matter and varied in content as scope has allowed and his ability has made possible. About 100 songs are new, some are translated from English, and the rest are a selection of the most spiritually rich songs that have been available in the Swedish language. At the end of each song not composed by the editor the name of the author or initials is given. When the author is unknown the book or publication from which the song is taken is indicated. Since lengthy songs are unsuited and wearisome the editor has made an effort to meet a demand in this respect. [The meaning was that lengthy songs were because of their length unsuited etc. for ordinary meetings.] In view of this many of the selected songs appear in abbreviated form and some are divided in several parts. For melodies to songs in this book the references have been made to those of significant beauty in "Pilgrims-Sånger," "Gospel Songs" etc.[2]

Second in order of publication for the Swedish Baptists was the hymnal, Nya Pilgrims Sånger, edited by A. P. Ekman and published in

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[2] Sions Basun, ed. John A. Peterson (Minneapolis: Tryckt i "Budstikkens" Tryckeri, 1876), from the Foreword.

Stromsburg, Nebraska, in 1887. As the name indicates it was meant to be a supplement to Palmquist's Pilgrims-Sånger. In 1888 Eric Wingren, editor of the Swedish Baptist organ "Nya Wecko-Posten," compiled and published Fridsbasunen which served the congregations for several years.

Pilgrimens Lof, edited by Olof Bodien and Frank Peterson, was published in 1894. The purpose for its publication is set forth by the editors in its preface:

> A special need of a book with only well known and good songs has prompted the publication of this songbook. No claim for originality is made. The endeavor has been to select only such songs as by the public have long been well known, and have been loved and appreciated by God's children in many nations and languages.
>
> Nearly half of the number are selected from the immortal Pilgrim Songs which in earlier days in such an essential way have contributed to the progress of the Baptist work.
>
> These songs have become so integrated with our emotions and experiences that they cannot without great loss be left aside in our meetings.
>
> The second half comprise a selection from "Gospel Hymns." These are now known nearly over the whole world, and have been a means through the Holy Spirit to produce the world's greatest revivals. Most any preacher or song leader is amazed when he realizes how few are the songs that are put to use during the year--perhaps hardly fifty in number.
>
> The melodies in this book are generally known and when the songs are taken from sources already indicated the music is readily available.
>
> At the meeting of the Ministerial Association in Minneapolis in November, 1893 this song collection was scrutinized by a committee appointed for that purpose and unanimously approved and recommended for publication.[3]

The American Baptist Publication Society published the next two hymnals for use among Swedish Baptists in America. Valder Hymner was released in 1896 and Triumf-Sånger in 1900. Their respective forewords indicate the intent and purpose for their publication.

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[3] Pilgrimens Lof, ed. Olof Bodien, Frank Peterson (Minneapolis: Svenska Baptist Literatur sällskaps Förlag, 1894), from the Foreword.

> "Valda Hymner" is turned over herewith to the respected public. Since it has been of concern to us to obtain as good songs as possible with appealing melodies easily sung, we have endeavored to select songs that will in those respects fulfill such requirements. The first division of this song book comprises songs translated from the popular song book "Select Gems." The second division consists of songs from different authors. A large part of these have been selected from Swedish song books kindly placed at our disposal, while others are from the outstanding American authors, like W. H. Doane, Robert Lowry, D. B. Towner, Ira D. Sankey et. al., to whom we are exceedingly grateful for their letting us use the songs. For the excellent translation of the songs Prof. Hjalmar Edgren is surety.
>
> With an ardent wish that the Lord's blessing may attend the singing of these songs in church, Sunday school and home "Valda Hymner" is herewith sent forth in our common Master's Name to be sung for His glory.[4]

> Triumph Songs makes its appearance with one claim, namely, that it will, at least to a small extent, fill a widely felt need for a song book suitable for our Sunday schools and young people's meetings. With exception of a few originals and some songs borrowed from Swedish song books published at earlier dates, this collection constitutes a careful selection from various song books in the English language. The content is evangelical and the melodies are lively and beautiful. The translating has been done by the brethren C. G. Lagergren, O. Hedeen and Em. Schmidt, whose names appear within parentheses under the song.
>
> If Triumph Songs are intended in the first place for Sunday school and young people's meetings, we are nevertheless convinced that they can also prove a blessing when used in family worship, at prayer-meetings and on any occasion when God's people come together for worship.
>
> To Professor O. Hedeen, who has critically scrutinized Triumph Songs, both as to text and music and has also given valuable advice and suggestions, a hearty thanks.
>
> May God's rich blessing, much edification and good progress in the spread of God's Kingdom attend the use of these songs.

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[4] Valda Hymner (Philadelphia: A. J. Rowland, 1896), from the Foreword.

On behalf of the American Baptist Publication Society

Henry Nelson
G. A. Hagstrom[5]

The first publication of any magnitude undertaken by the Swedish Baptists in America was the hymnal Nya Psalmisten, issued in 1903. The book contains 675 hymns of both the old and new variety; of the former type many were included which had provided spiritual inspiration to the early Baptist pioneers. Many Swedish-American authors are represented such as A. L. Skoog, Nils Frykman, and Olof Bodien. The purpose for its compilation and the scope of its contents are set forth in its foreword.

> The song book Nya Psalmisten is herewith made over to the public. The need of a song book for our churches has been felt for a considerable time. The dear old "Pilgrims-sangerna" accompanied us when we came to this country. The tunes of those old songs re-echoed throughout the soul ever since childhood. Other collections of songs, most of them from English, were tried out. Private persons and societies edited and published song books which served us during the course of years. All these well-known collections of songs have proved a great blessing to the Christian church in its spiritual work. The Swedish Baptist churches of America stood ready to lay plans for the observance of its fifty years of existence as a denomination and now deemed the Conference mature enough to publish a song book of its very own. At its Conference meeting in St. Paul, Minnesota in the year 1900, Editor E. Wingren offered to let the Conference take over his song book "Fridsbasunen" together with stereotype plates free of charge. This offer was accepted by the Conference, which proceeded to appoint a committee assigned to the task of gathering material for a song book. At the Conference meeting in New York in the year 1901 decision was made to raise the funds for the publication of the book. The work went forward in whatever measure time and circumstance would permit. Now that the book is ready we thank God, Who has stood by us in the task.
>
> In the selection of songs the Committee felt itself obliged to comply with the strong wish generally expressed

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[5] Triumf-Sånger, ed. Henry Nelson, G. A. Hagstrom (Philadelphia: The American Baptist Publication Society, 1900), from the Foreword.

> by the rank and file and try to recover for our use the old pithy songs in our Swedish language. In the next place it has been our concern to choose from the songs translated from other languages,--songs that during many years have been cherished by our song-loving people. Furthermore, we have introduced translations from English not sung in Swedish by our people before. Then, too, we have taken even not a few new original songs turned over to the Committee without cost.[6]

According to Professor Adolf Olson the book met with hearty response from the whole denomination and was used until recent years when the Swedish language was abandoned in the public services of worship. It went through several editions and also proved itself successful as a business enterprise.[7]

A small hymnal called Fridröster was published in 1910, intended especially for use in revival and prayer meetings, Sunday school, and the home. Edited by Olof Bodien, G. Arvid Hagstrom, and Olof Hedeen, it contained 278 hymns including a brief supplement of English hymns. The inroads of the English language among the Swedish Baptists is alluded to in the preface.

> Fridsröster is a new song selection which is now placed in the hands of the Swedish general public. It is meant, in the first instance, for use in young people's meetings, Sunday schools, and revival meetings, but is also suitable for spiritual devotional meetings in a more general way.
>
> During recent years a considerable number of valuable and popular songs have appeared in the English language, which songs have heretofore been published in Swedish dress, and of those that have been put forth, the Swedish array of many have only been sorry perversions of our beautiful mother tongue, not to speak purely practical requirements.
>
> The undersigned, who at the behest of the Swedish Baptist General Conference of America were entrusted with the task

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[6] Nya Psalmisten, (Minneapolis: Skoog and Selander, 1903), from the Foreword.

[7] Adolf Olson, A Centenary History (Chicago: Baptist Conference Press, 1952), p. 510.

> of gathering and publishing of these songs have taken pains to select the best and most popular new songs in English available, even though quite high prices had to be paid for permission to use them. "Padding material," which is so common, even in song books, we have carefully steered clear of. Most of the translations have been performed by the Swedish writer, Ader, well known even on this side of the Atlantic, who, we believe has succeeded in rendering the songs in flowing Swedish, while at the same time retaining the poetic flight of the original. Beside these translations, which constitute the greater number in the book, a considerable number of familiar songs, which in our view ought not to be left out, have also been included in the selection. A few songs, specifically composed for Fridströster have also been included. For the excellent arrangement of the music the well known name of A. L. Skoog is a sure guaranty. We have also found it expedient to include a number of songs in English since especially our Swedish-American youth and our Sunday schools love to vary the singing with using the language of our country.[8]

In 1925 the Swedish Baptists published the New Hymnal which was a first attempt at an English song book. The most important successor to Nya Psalmisten was the Gospel Hymnal published in 1950. This was accomplished through the help and cooperation of the Rodeheaver Hall-Mack Company which supplied plates which had been used previously in the publication of an interdenominational hymnal. Twenty-six translations of well-known and best-loved Swedish hymns were inserted into the previous publication and thus the Gospel Hymnal actually became a revision of the earlier one. The mechanics of compilation and publication were known to few of the constituency and this volume became practically the official hymnal of the Baptist General Conference. Several other denominations adopted it for use in their churches, although its contents left much to be desired as far as quality is concerned.

The latest adoption by the churches of Swedish Baptist origin is the rather recently published Worship and Service Hymnal. A publication of the Hope Publishing Company, this hymnal was first issued in 1957. A special edition of the early 1960's has been adopted to a greater or lesser degree by the Baptist General Conference churches. It contains a supplement of approximately a dozen Scandinavian hymns which seems to meet the demands of the constituency which is gradually losing its Swedish identity.

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[8] Fridströster, ed. Olof Bodien, G. A. Hagstrom, Olof Hedeen, (Minneapolis: DeLander Music Printing Co., 1910), from the Foreword.

The Norwegian Baptists have used the following hymnals which are listed in chronological order:

Psalmer og Aandelige Sange was published by L. J. Hauge in 1867, containing 543 hymns.

Missionsharpen, containing 530 songs was published in 1870.

Den Syngende Evangelist, compiled by H. A. Beishenbach in 1877 contained 150 songs.

Harpetoner, contained 115 songs, some of which were in English. It was published in 1887 by Rev. P. H. Dam.

Salme og Sangbok published in 1887 became the first official hymnal of the Norwegian Baptists. It contained 645 songs and remained the official hymnal for many years.

Several smaller hymnals of private publication were forthcoming in succeeding years. Among these were the Våkkelsharpen of O. H. Skotheim published in 1888, and Sangens Tid published in 1925 by Rev. O. Breding.

Evangelisten, the official hymnal of the Baptists in Norway was in use by Norwegian-American Baptists until the close of World War I.[9]

In the beginning of Baptist work among the Danish-speaking people, several hymnals from Denmark were used among the congregations. These included Brorson's Troens Rare Klenodie, Honningblomsten by Peter Sorenson and Köbner's Troens Stemme. As the need grew for songs peculiar to the Danish-American tradition the following hymnals were issued:

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[9] Peter Stiansen, History of the Norwegian Baptists in America (Philadelphia: The Norwegian Baptist Conference of America and The American Baptist Publication Society, 1939), p. 304.

Psalmer og Aandelige Sange (Psalms and Spiritual Songs), by L. Jorgensen (1867).

Missionsharpen (The Mission Harp), a large hymn-book with 530 songs, edited by N. P. Lange, O. C. Jensen, H. A. Reichenbach. A revised edition was published in 1873.

Gospel Hymns and Sacred Songs (Moody & Sankey), translated by P. H. Dam.

Den Syngende Evangelist (The Singing Evangelist), by H. A. Reichenbach. This was a very popular song-book; it was published in five editions.

Salme og Sangbog (Psalms and Songs), containing 645 hymns, was compiled by an officially appointed committee . . . The first edition of this hymn book appeared in 1887.[10]

The first official hymnal of the Danish Baptists in America was Psalme og Sangbog published in 1887. Practically all of the churches made use of this hymnal over a period of many years. The account of its compilation is gleaned from the foreword to the hymnal.

> Under the steady progress made in the Mission among our people in this land during the course of the last thirty years we have constantly grown away from the psalm books which have been given out among us and have made use of newer songs translated from English, a situation due to a general longing for the old more kernel-filled and powerful psalms, which are more suited as expression of various experiences of Christians as well as to the different phases of general worship. When, therefore, it was opinioned that we were ready for a "salmebok," which would satisfy the common demand both among young and old, and take the place of all the others, and also expected to fill the requirements for the next twenty-five years at least,--the matter was taken up for deliberation in the annual conferences East and West in 1885 and a Psalm Book Committee of seven members was appointed to take the work in hand. This committee chose from its own number H. A. Reichanbach, who both from "Mission-Harpen" and as "Singing Evangelist" has become known and popular among us song collectors, to gather material, while an appeal in general was sent out to each and all to send in songs to him. As soon as the collection was completed

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[10] Seventy-Five Years of Danish Baptist Missionary Work in America (Philadelphia: The Danish Baptist General Conference of America, The American Baptist Publication Society, 1939), p. 271.

> the committee members (with the exception of the foreman N. P. Jensen, and I. S. Lunn, who could not attend) met and looked over the material, made corrections, accepted it and sent it on to the press.
>
> As the book now lies finished, containing 645 psalms and songs which--with the exception of a certain number, written or translated for the book, most of them by H. A. Reichenbach--practically all have been taken from the following to us well-known Psalm and song collections, viz: "Troesstemmen," "Missions-Harpen," "Hosanna," "Harpetoner," "Den syngende Evangelist," "R. Nielsens Salmebog" and P. H. Dam's translation of Gospel Hymns. A considerable number of songs taken from the other books taken in unchanged, except for some unimportant grammatical and stylistic corrections or elimination of stanzas.[11]

The last hymnal of the Danish Baptists was published in 1916, in answer to the need for a smaller song book which could be used in evangelistic meetings. The foreword indicates the assignment made in the committee and the hymnal which resulted.

> In the year 1887 was issued "Salme og Sangbok," the first song book with notes among the Danish Baptists. Both to content and arrangement it represented an honest attempt to satisfy the continually growing demand among us for such a book. It has served our denomination these many years and will continue to do so for the future, especially as church song book. But there has for a long time been a desire among us for a smaller song book especially for use in our so called "Evangelistic meetings," one that could more easily be carried from place to place and be sold at a lesser price. At our conference in Racine, this matter was taken up for deliberation and it was voted that we issue such a book, comprising about one hundred songs with specific evangelistic content and with music. The brethren whose names appear below were selected by the Conference to assume the task of issuing this book. In the execution of this assignment the Committee has had in view the selecting of songs with genuine Evangelical content, in good Danish language and with appropriate melodies.[12]

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[11] Salme-og-Sangbog, N. P. Jensen, et. al. (Chicago: 1887), from the Foreword.

[12] W. J. Andreasen, et. al., ed. Missions Sange, (Philadelphia: ed. The Danish Baptist General Conference of America, 1916), from the Foreword.

Hymnody of the Covenant Church

During the early years of the Mission Friends no hymnals were used because of the poor financial status of this young denomination. Some churches used *Ahnfelt's Sånger* and *Lammets Lof* as well as the Baptist hymnal, *Pilgrimssånger*. One of the early publications by the Mission Synod was *Samlingssånger* issued in 1876. In 1887 the Swedish *Andlegia Sånger* merged with *Samlingssånger* and bore the double title of both books.

The first hymnal of significance in the Covenant Church was the *Evangeli Basun* published for the first time in 1880 by E. A. Skogsbergh and A. L. Skoog. The editors borrowed freely from old Swedish hymnals such as Joel Blomqvist's *Sabbathklockan* and *Fridstonerna*. Several selections were taken by permission from Rutstrom's *Sions Nya Toner* as well as other popular Swedish authors.

The largest hymnal to date among the Swedes was the collection known as *Sionsharpan* published in 1890 by the Mission Friends' Publishing Company. This became the standard hymnal of the Covenant Churches to a greater or lesser degree. It contained 700 numbers arranged according to title and content.

Jubelklangen, published by Skoog and Hultman in 1896, is one of the several private hymnal publications by members of the Covenant denomination. It was designed primarily as a youth hymnal and for use in the Sunday schools. The popularity of the guitar is seen in the insertion of symbols to aid in the accompaniment of the songs.

The Svenska Söndagsskolans Sångbok of 1908 was published by the Eastern Sunday School Association for use in the Covenant Sunday schools. N. J. Russell's *Nya Sånger for Söndageskolan* was purchased by the editorial committee and became the nucleus for the new hymnal. Arrangements were made to include well-known songs by Skoog, Hultman, Drykman, et. al.

Since the organization of the Covenant Church in 1885 there have been what may be considered seven official hymnals. The first of these publications was the Sions Basun collection of 1909, compiled in celebration of the silver anniversary of the denomination. Such well-known composers and hymnists as Nils Frykman, A. L. Skoog, and J. A. Hultman were on the editorial committee. It contained over 700 hymns, one-fourth of which were written by Swedish-American Covenanters and 123 by Nils Frykman. Approximately one-fourth of the hymns were from Covenant authors and sources from Sweden.

De Ungas Sångbok, issued in 1914, contained many songs from Sions Basun as well as other well-known and well-liked Swedish and American song books. It was intended for use not only by young people, but also by primary children for whom appealing songs were included also. It numbered 264 songs, forty of which had English texts.

Mission Hymns of 1921 was the result of the desire of the Covenant Church for its own English hymnal. In spite of factions which developed concerning a purely English collection, the hymnal was prepared under the editorship of A. L. Skoog. In the total of 223 hymns, thirty were translations from the Swedish language. The hymnal met with enthusiastic response and during the first year of publication sold 11,000 copies.

In 1931 the Covenant Hymnal was published under contract with the Hope Publishing Company. It contained 476 hymns and of this number thirty-six were translations of Covenant hymns from America and Sweden.

A number of hymns were written by younger members of the American Covenant. It was enthusiastically received in the denomination at large.

At the annual meeting of the Covenant Church in 1944 it was recommended that a revision of the 1931 hymnal be attempted. A standard of selection was set up by a rather large editorial committee and of the nearly 2000 suggested hymns, 600 were chosen for inclusion. The format of the hymnal plus careful editing account for its appeal to the denomination. The first edition of the new Covenant Hymnal was issued in 1951 with a sale of 25,000 copies, followed by a second edition in 1951. In the early years of its use over 70,000 copies were sold.

Two smaller collections complete the list of official hymn books of the Covenant Church. A paperback hymn book, Songs of Hope and Cheer contains sixty-seven Gospel songs while Sing It Again contains 112 songs and hymns for camp, outdoor meetings, youth groups, etc. The latter collection has sold 25,000 copies.

Hymnody of the Swedish Methodists

The Swedish Methodists used as their first hymnal the Church Book of the Church of Sweden, supplemented by songs by Rutström, Ahnfelt and others. This was eventually replaced by a collection of hymns of Victor Witting.[13] Psalmer och Sånger compiled by Jacob Bredberg was the second collection of their very own used by the Swedish Methodist congregations. Published in 1862, it contained 700 hymns, among them translations from the regular Methodist hymnal and familiar Swedish hymns. The hymnal of 1884, the Metodist Episkopal Kyrkans Svenska Psalmbok consisted of 662 selections, including several translations. A second edition, somewhat revised, appeared in 1892.

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[13] Stephenson, op. cit., p. 259.

The last official hymnal of the Swedish-American Methodists known as the Psalmbok was published in 1904 and remained the hymnal of the denomination until its dissolution. The foreword to the hymnal sets forth its intended use and a description of its contents.

> Herewith is presented to the Swedish Methodist churches and its individual members a new Psalm and Song Book, designed for their use to serve in guidance and edification at public and private occasions of worship.
>
> Twenty years have passed since the Church issued a psalm book (the second in the series) for its Swedish members, and this book has by God's blessing accomplished an unending lot of good. Many a weary pilgrim on the way to the heavenly Zion has through these songs received enlivened courage and added strength to press forward on the paths of God's precepts. Yea, even on those who not yet were on the good path, the pleasant tunes of the songs have made deep impressions and have served to make them comprehend that there is a heavenly Cannan whose gate stands open, and has caused them to ask the way to it. A general desire has, however, during a number of years, been evident, to the effect, that a new edition should as soon as possible be published. In view of the extensiveness of such an undertaking and the heavy expenses involved there was hesitation for a long time. But when in the course of time the need became more pressing the task was taken in hand by the permission of the general conference, and was pursued unremittingly until it could be finished and now be submitted as a completed project. And it is to be hoped that the shortcomings complained of in the former edition, both as regards text and melodies will have been considerably lessened, if not altogether eliminated.
>
> Of the six hundred psalms and songs found in this edition about one half of them come from the psalm book published in 1884 and are now revised in greater or lesser degree. The rest are partly new songs by Swedish authors, not published before, partly selections from formerly published collections, and partly translations from the English language of songs which to the melodies are being sung even today by millions of Christians in all parts of the world. The translating and selecting has been done by brethren suitable thereto, who have spared no effort to satisfy every reasonable demand.

> The psalm book commission has consisted of three brethren from each of the four Swedish yearly conferences.[14]

In addition to the church hymnals, the Methodists issued several song books for use by the Sunday school and youth groups. In chronological order the list includes:

David's Harpa, 1887
Herde Stämman, 1893
Jubel Sånger, 1902
Unga Röster, 1909
Evangeliska Sånger, 1916[15]

Miscellaneous Collections

The following list of hymnals arranged in chronological order of publication has been made available for this study. Many of them are of private origin and were compiled to meet the needs of all groups in the free-church tradition.

Andeliga Sånger - (Ahnfelt), 1881
Cymbalen (Hultman), 1885
Sånger till Jesu Ära - (Witting), 1886
Herde-Rösten - (Davis), 1892
Nya Sånger For Söndags-Skolan, (Russell), 1892
Bornenes Harpa, 1899
Fridsbasunen, 1899
Svenska Söndagsskolans Sångbok, 1908

The foreword to Sions Seger-Sånger published in 1911 by Evangel Publishing Company of St. Paul Park, Minnesota, expresses the general sentiment of many of the publishers of these collections:

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[14] Svenska Psalmbok, ed. Henry W. Warren, et. al. (New York, Cincinnati: The Methodist Book Concern, 1904), from the Foreword.

[15] Hjortsvang, op. cit., p. 81.

> Among the saints in the evening time of this reformation a keen need has been felt for a song book containing only such songs as can be sung with the spirit and with the understanding (I Cor. 14:15). Therefore God has laid it upon the hearts and conscience of a few brothers and sisters to collect, translate, and compose these songs, new and old from song treasures.
>
> Sincere effort has been made to exclude song verses containing teachings and views contrary to those in the Bible, and to supply a selection of songs suitable and full of rich instruction for various exigencies in life, and especially for the Christian in the different stages of spiritual progress. For most of these songs references to the melodies are given in abbreviated form. Thus Z. S. S. Danish song book "Zions Seiers Sange;" and T. S. the English song book "Truth in Song," E. G. "Echoes from Glory," S. E. L. "Songs in the Evening Light;" S. E. "Salvation Echoes," etc.
>
> "Sions Seger-Sånger" is herewith offered to the public with a prayer to God that its evangelical messages may reach many a lost child and bring same to the Father's house, and that all God's dispersed children may through its joyful sound be led away from Babel and home to Zion--God's assembly.[16]

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[16] Sions Seger-Sånger, ed. August Davis (St. Paul Park, Minn.: Evangel Publishing Co., 1911), from the Foreword.

CONCLUSION

From the time of the Reformation to the present day, the history of hymnody in Scandinavia parallels the history of the Church. The Church in Sweden can trace its hymnody from the contributions of Olavus Petri in the early years of the Reformation to the modern-day hymnists such as Wendell-Hansen of the Baptists and Carl Boberg, the Mission Covenant poet. Other leaders, both within the State Church and the pietistic, free-church groups, have contributed to the total hymnody of Scandinavia through the last several centuries. As the free-church denominations came into being there developed an intense interest in producing a body of hymns peculiar to each group which would enhance corporate and private worship.

As has been previously mentioned, hymns of the smaller denominations found their way into many state-church hymnals. Pietistic influence may be seen in the hymns of state-church hymnists such as Kingo, Brorson, and Grundtvig in Denmark and most significantly in the hymns of Wallin and Mrs. Berg in Sweden. The interpretation of the basic Christian doctrines similar to the pietistic, free-church groups, and the emphasis on the mystical element in Christianity and personal piety are reflected in the hymns of those writers who never left the confines of the State Church.

Not only have the free-church emphases appeared in the hymns of state-church hymnists, but at Chapter Five has pointed out, there has been considerable reciprocal borrowing between the two branches of the Church in Scandinavia. The free churches in particular have availed themselves of the rich heritage of state-church hymns for use in their particular, official hymnals. The Danish Baptists, for instance, borrowed quite extensively from state-church hymnists in the compilation of their hymnal, while the Mission Covenant hymnal of Denmark contains only a token number of hymns from state-church sources other than Brorson, Grundtvig, and Ingemann.

Progress marks the present status of hymnody of the major free-church groups in the Scandinavian countries. The fact that new hymnals have appeared in comparatively recent years among these denominations lends credence to this assertion. Many of these hymnals are of considerable size and proportion, and a considerable number of selections of the "Gospel Song" type from American poets of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries are contained in several of them. Texts from British authors such as Cowper, Newton, Watts, and Wesley have been used in significant numbers.

As the Scandinavian denominations of the free-church tradition became established in America, the development of hymnody among them and the publication of a variety of hymnals followed naturally. Each of the major denominations has had its traditional hymns of Scandinavian and Scandinavian-American origin, particularly in the early years of its history. The Baptist and the Mission Covenant denominations developed a strong hymnody and showed a continuing interest in its use. As the dates of publication show, the Methodists seem to have lost interest in having a denominational hymnal early in the present century.

The only group in America which has maintained a strong interest in its hymnody is the Mission Covenant. While the Baptist General Conference has produced no official hymnal, distinctly its own, since 1925, the Mission Covenant denomination has published one within the last twenty years. Plans are under way and work has been started on a new hymnal to be released in the near future. Thus this latter denomination at the present time is the only one of the Scandinavian-American origin which is carrying on an official traditional hymnody of its own. One reason for this might be that the Mission Covenant Church has maintained a strong interest in the use of the Swedish language, whereas the Swedish Baptists have moved away almost entirely from the use of the mother tongue. Whether the Swedish Baptists in America will ever witness a revival of interest in their hymnody remains to be seen.

The final phase of this study of Scandinavian hymnody involved a perusal of the hymnals of some of the major denominations in America as well as those of inter-denominational vintage. These hymnals were examined in order to determine to what extent Scandinavian hymns of both the state-church and free-church tradionts have been selected by the editorial committees of American hymnals. Both texts and musical settings have been included in this particular phase of the study.

American Lutheran hymnals have drawn most heavily on hymns of Scandinavian origin. The Hymnal and Order of Service of the Evangelical Lutheran Augustana Synod published in 1925 contains a significant number of Swedish texts and tunes. This is a reflection of the denomination's strong Swedish background. From among the state-church hymnists thirty-three authors are represented with the hymns of J. O. Wallin numbering thirty. The pietistic, free-church contributions include three hymns each by Mrs. Berg, Mrs. Posse, Rosenius, and Rutström. Two texts from Ahnfelt's Sånger have been included. Musical settings and melodies include five by Ahnfelt and one from his Sånger as well as entries by Blomqvist, Gustaf Düben, Prince Gustaf of Sweden, Haeffner, F. G. Hedberg, Peter Johnson, Isarael Kolmodin, J. F. Lagergren, and Lindeman, in addition to a sizeable number of other original settings and arrangements of Scandinavian folk songs.

The Concordia Hymnal of 1932, which was used primarily by the Lutheran Free Church congregations, contains a number of selections of Scandinavian origin. In the general category of hymnists, including American Scandinavians, forty-three authors are listed in the index. Composers number eighteen with Ludwig Lindeman represented by thirty-four musical settings. Thirteen original poems by Grundtvig are included among the contents of this hymnal. Among the pietistic and free-church authors, Brorson is represented by ten original texts and two translations. One text each from Mrs. Berg, Mrs. Posse and Hans Hauge and three poems by Rosenius were chosen for this collection. Three of the tunes of Ahnfelt have been used as musical settings.

The Service Book and Hymnal of 1958 which was compiled for use by eight Lutheran Church bodies contains fifty-four entries from both state and free-church sources. These include forty-two poems by Scandinavian authors as well as twenty-four melodies either of folk variety or by native composers. Only a few texts are by pietistic or free-church authors such as Mrs. Berg and Hans Brorson. J. O. Wallin's hymns are five in number.

The latest Methodist Hymnal of America contains only one song of Scandinavian origin, the well-known "Children of the Heavenly Father" by

Mrs. Berg. The Presbyterian Hymnal of 1933 includes one text by Laurentius Laurenti: "Rejoice, Rejoice, Believers" and two by J. O. Wallin: "We Worship Thee, Almighty Lord" and "Where Is the Friend For Whom I'm Ever Longing?" The Danish three-fold "Amen" is also contained in this hymnal. Christian Worship, the hymnal of the American Baptists and the Disciples of Christ, contains only two selections from Scandinavia: Christian Ostergaard's "That Cause Can Neither Be Lost Nor Strayed," with its corresponding tune of Danish folk-song origin, and Ingemann's "Through the Night of Doubt and Sorrow."

American hymnals, particularly those with a preponderance of nineteenth century "gospel songs," have contained Scandinavian hymns of the free-church variety in increasing numbers in recent years. Favorite Hymns of Praise, published in 1967 by the Hope Publishing Company of Chicago, contains the ever popular "How Great Thou Art" by Carl Boberg and "He the Pearly Gates Will Open," written by Fred Blom. In other hymnals of this type one is likely to find one or two selections of similar character from the Scandinavian countries.

The Foursquare Service Hymnal of 1957 contains one musical setting by Lindeman and a text by J. O. Wallin. It would seem that since T. B. Barratt received his inspiration for the Pentecostal movement in Norway from Aimee Semple McPherson, several of his hymns should appear in this collection. Such is not the case. As was indicated earlier in this study, one of Mrs. McPherson's hymns is included in the Norwegian Pentecostal hymnal.

Crusader Hymns, published in 1966 by the Hope Publishing Company, includes the greatest concentration of Scandinavian hymns of any American hymnal other than the Lutheran hymnals previously mentioned. Compiled by Donald Hustad and Cliff Barrows, musicians with the Billy Graham team, it represents a trend toward the use of more hymns and gospel songs from Scandinavia, particularly Sweden. For clarity the hymns with their authors, composers, or sources are listed:

"He the Pearly Gates Will Open" -- Fred Blom and Elsie Ahlwein.

"In Heaven Above" - Laurentius Laurentii Laurenius.
(Norwegian Folk Melody)

"Thanks to God" - August Storm and J. A. Hultman

"How Great Thou Art" - Carl Boberg
(Swedish Folk Melody)

"No Other Plea" - (Norwegian Folk Melody)

"Children of the Heavenly Father" - Lina Sandell Berg
(Swedish Melody)

"I With Thee Would Begin" - Translation from the Swedish by Samuel Wallgren. Musical setting by W. Theodor Soderberg.

It is difficult to ascertain whether Scandinavian hymnody will penetrate further into the contents of American hymnals. From casual observation it seems that those hymns of the type included in Crusader Hymns are being recorded and used in greater numbers than was true even a decade ago. "Children of the Heavenly Father" and "How Great Thou Art" are two hymns which are becoming increasingly popular in non-Scandinavian circles. With the exception of the Mission Covenant hymnal in which a significant number of Scandinavian hymns are found, there is much work to be done in introducing the heritage of Scandinavian hymnody into the worship of the American Protestant denominations. There is no justifiable reason why Scandinavian hymnody should not share equal honors with the hymnody of the rest of the countries where religious reforms have produced a treasury of sacred verse and music.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

THEN SVENSKA PSALMBOKEN OF 1695

Editions Available for this Study

1727	1851
1740	1863
1755	1875
1803	

These editions are a cross-section of those published. All indicate on the title page authorization by the king.

Contents

Most of the editions are divided into two parts. The first section contains the 413 hymns which would indicate that for approximately 150 years these selections remained constant and intact. A spot-check of numbers in the 1727 and 1875 editions bears this out. The following table of contents indicates the scope of subjects covered:

Catechisms Versified
King David's Psalms Versified
Advent Psalms
Incarnation Psalms
Christmas and New Year Psalms
Suffering and Death of Christ
Burial and Resurrection
Ascension
The Holy Spirit
The Holy Trinity
Holy Angels
All Saints' Day
Apostle Days
Psalms over Sunday Evangels
Fall and Restoration
God's Word and Church
The Lord's Sabbath Day

Prayer Psalm before and after Sermon
Anti-Christ
God's Eternal Protection
God's Grace and Forgiveness of Sin
Psalms of Penitence
Christian Walk
Patience and Trust in God
The Ways of the World
Psalms of Sorrow and Testing
Psalms of Petition
Psalms of Praise and Thanksgiving
Psalms under Various Circumstances
Psalms for Different People
Psalms for Various Occasions

The second section concerns itself for the most part with various items for instruction, devotion and corporate worship. To mention a few, there are included in this section:

The Gospels and Epistles
The Athanasian Creed
Scriptures on the Life of Christ
The Litany
The Swedish Mass
David's Penitential Psalms

In the editions available, one or two variations are to be found in regard to the second section of the hymnal. The edition of 1740 contains no second part, merely the regular hymns of section one. It is entirely possible that this omission could have been effected in rebinding. Of even greater significance is the make-up of the 1875 hymnal. The second part of this edition is a reproduction in its entirety of Sions Sånger, the Herrnhut hymnal of the pietistic group. Two observations are in order at this point. It is noteworthy that the Gamla Psalmboken, as this book later became known, was still being printed long after the 1819 book of J. O. Wallin had been published. Furthermore, the inclusion of the Herrnhut hymns indicates to this writer the strong influence of the Herrnhut group on that of the State Church. There are some strong implications in this arrangement.

Authors represented

Even in some of the new hymn books from Scandinavia there is a scarcity of names of the authors. Evidently these were not thought to be important. However in examining the contents of the 1695 Psalmboken the following observations are of significance regarding the authors. This outline of selected subjects indicates the contribution of prominent men among the several items in part one:

The Ten Commandments

- Martin Luther
- Olavus Petri
- Laurentius Petri

The Credo

- Martin Luther
- Ambrosius
- Augustinus

The Lord's Prayer

- Several renderings by Martin Luther

The Lord's Supper

- John Huss
- Martin Luther
- H. Spegel
- Johann Rist

David's Psalms (in meter)

- D. Becker
- L. Petri
- J. Swedberg
- J. Arrnhenius

M. Luther

John Huss

Although the singing of metrical psalms was strikingly peculiar to Calvin's Reformation, the presence of nearly 100 psalms in meter in this book indicates their more than casual use in the Lutheran Church of that day.

Representative Hymns in Translation

A. Bless us, Father, and protect us
  From all harm in all our ways;
Patiently, O Lord, direct us
  Safely through these fleeting days;
Let Thy face upon us shine,
Fill us with Thy peace divine;
Praise the Father, Son, and Spirit,
Praise Him, all that life inherit.
--J. Swedberg

According to Ryden, this simple stanza by Swedberg became a favorite "doxology of the church of Sweden." J. O. Wallin incorporated it into one of his own hymns, "O my soul, on wings ascending," which is the final hymn in his Psalmbook.[1]

B. The lilies, nor toiling nor spinning,
  Their clothing how gorgeous and fair!
What tints in their tiny orbs woven,
  What wondrous devices are there!
All Solomon's stores could not render
One festival robe of such splendor
  As modest field lilies do wear.
--Haquin Spegel

Haquin Spegel, one of those who collaborated with Swedberg in the preparation of the rejected hymn book, was the more gifted poet of the two. It was he who by his hymns fixed the language forms that subsequently became the model for Swedish hymnody. Although Spegel never stooped to subjective sentimentality, his hymns breathe a spirit of personal faith and fervent devotion.[2]

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[1] Ryden, *op. cit.*, pp. 171, 172.

C. Jesus is my Friend most precious,
  Never friend did love as He;
Can I leave this Friend so gracious,
  Spurn His wondrous love for me?
No! nor friend nor foe shall sever
  Me from Him who loves me so;
His shall be my will forever,
  There above, and here below.
--J. Arrhenius[3]

Music of Den Psalmboken

The tunes used in the singing of the "psalms" from this book must have been well known to the people of that day. In the copies examined no music is printed. The tune to be used for a particular "psalm" is indicated as the one used for another supposedly familiar one. This is true even in the Sions Sånger section of the edition of 1875.

The companion to the 1695 hymnal was the Koralbok of 1697 edited and published by Swedberg and Vallerius. (The latter was an authority on Gregorian Chant.) It was a collection of texts and melodies with figured-bass accompaniments and scored as a pattern for subsequent collections. The influence of the German style is to be seen in the musical treatment of this collection as well as later ones. According to Lundholm the book was still popular among Swedish people at the time of his study in 1937, although the melodies do tend to be consistently in the high range.

Influence of the Swedberg Psalmbok

The influence of Swedberg's monumental work is seen even in the present century. According to Ryden

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[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid., p. 173.

> . . . the final form in which Swedberg's hymnbook was published was still so impregnated by his spirit that a noted critic has called it "the most precious heritage he left his native land." The fact that the latest Swedish Psalmbook (1937) contains no less than thirty-three hymns and translations credited to Swedberg, in part or in whole, testifies eloquently to the enduring mark he has left on Swedish hymnody.[4]

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[4] *Ibid.*, p. 171.

APPENDIX B

DEN SVENSKA PROF PSALMBOKEN

During the eighteenth century new trends in religious poetry began to be in evidence and from certain quarters came demands for a new and improved hymnal. In response to these demands the Celcius Psalm Proposal was issued in two sections in 1765 and 1767 respectively. The following table of general contents indicates by the titles contained therein the influence of Pietism and Herrnhutism. Much of the poetry was "uninspired and devoid of spiritual content," according to the estimate of Lövgren.

First Collection, 1765

God's Laws and Commandments

- The First Table
  - God's Holy Law in general
  - God's Ten Commandments in general
  - Love to God
  - The first commandment
  - The second commandment
  - The third commandment
  - The observation of Sunday
  - Before the Sermon
  - At the close of the service
- The Second Table
  - Love for neighbor
  - Love for enemies
  - Fourth commandment
  - Fifth commandment
  - Conciliatory attitude
  - Sixth commandment
  - Marital purity
  - Seventh commandment

Eighth commandment
Ninth commandment
Tenth commandment
The Law's decisions
Faith-rewards for the true
The Conscience
Purposed sins and sins in weakness
Partaking in the sins of others
Necessity of the Law
Good deeds

Concerning the Apostolic Faith

God and His attributes
Christian thoughts in regard to God's attributes
The Holy Trinity
Creation
The Angels
God's image
Man's fall and restoration
God's providence
Psalms of praise and gratitude
Christ's incarnation
Christ's self-humiliation
Preparation for Christmas
Christmas psalms
New Year psalms
Jesus' name and works of mercy
Jesus rideth into Jerusalem
Jesus' pain and sufferings
The beginning of Jesus' last suffering
Jesus washes his disciples' feet
Jesus suffers in the garden
Jesus is taken prisoner
Jesus suffers in the palace of Caiaphas
Peter's fall and tears
Judas' sin and perdition
Jesus questioned before the council
Jesus is sent to Herod
Jesus is scourged
Jesus is dressed in purple, crowned with thorns, reviled and brought forth to the people
Jesus condemned to death
Jesus bears his cross
The difference between the two robbers who were crucified with Jesus
Jesus suffers on the cross
The seven words of Jesus
The death of the faithful with Christ and life in his death
Jesus' death and burial
Christ's exaltation and ministry
Easter psalms
Christ's ascension
The last judgment

Second Collection, 1767

Selected Psalms

Pentecost psalms
God's Word as a means of grace
Food for the soul
God's grace in Christ
The workings of God's grace
The calling
Awakening unto repentance
Repentance psalms
Sorrow for sin
Stillness in God during repentance
The new birth
Faith's longing
Faith's confidence
Faith's confidence even during temptation and testing
Justification
Prayer for forgiveness of sin
Assurance of forgiveness of sin
Spiritual peace and boldness
Sonship
Indwelling of Jesus
Betrothal to Christ
Daily sanctification or renewal
Imitation of Jesus
Daily repentance
Spiritual wakefulness
Spiritual warfare
Encouragement in facing difficulties in Christendom
Encouragement in face of slavish fear
Keeping the faith; help against temptation
Keeping the faith
Constancy with Jesus
Blessings in the state of faith
Proof regarding the state of faith
Love for Jesus
Love for Jesus, detest for the world
Detest for world and holy living
The vanities of the world to be despised
Needless anxieties of the world's children
God's protection
Subjection and willing commitment to God's will
Satisfaction in God
In manifold sorrows
In times of testing
God's help and protection in temptations
In all sorts of trials
Against despair
Taking heed to the time of grace
Preparation for death
Burial psalm

Resurrection of the dead
The eternal life
The eternity of the unsaved

The Lord's Prayer

The necessity of prayer
Thoughtlessness in prayer
Warning against prayer in unrepentance
Prayer encouraged
Encouragement for a deeply penitent to pray
The Lord's Prayer in its entirety
Introduction to the Lord's prayer
First prayer
Second prayer
Third prayer
Fourth prayer
Fifth prayer
Sixth prayer
Seventh prayer
Consummation of the Lord's prayer
Prayer psalms in general
For general well-being
For peace
In time of war
For good health
In contagious sicknesses
Summer psalms
Temporal livelihood
Productivity of soil
In great drouth
In too much moisture
In epidemics

The Holy Baptism

The Holy Communion

The Lord's supper
The keys of the kingdom
Examination and absolution

Morning, Evening and Noonday Psalms

Morning or evening psalms
Morning psalms
Evening psalms
Psalms for noon or meal
Thanks for temporal sustenance
Benediction

The House Table

Psalms for certain classes, and for various occasions connected with them or otherwise pertaining to them, and also for private persons, to be used in their various temporal or spiritual situations.

Supplication of the listeners for the speaker
In voting for a new pastor after candidates have been slated
Church dedication psalm
Jubilation psalm
For authority and general welfare
At the crowning of king
Opening of parliament
Intercession for judges
Court case psalm
Wedding psalms
Prayer of parents for children
Children's prayer
Prayer psalm of youth
Householders' Prayer psalm
Prayer of house servants
A widow's psalm
In severe illness
Thanksgiving for returned health
In protracted emaciating illness
Before drinking from healing waters
While drinking from healing waters
After successfully completing the cure
Psalm of a sinner who is awakening from his self-assurance
Psalm for a self-sure soul awakening on entrance to eternity
A self-sure soul awakened after recovery from deadly illness
Longing for thorough conversion by a penitent soul
The prayer of a penitent soul for conversion and sin-forgiveness
The longing of faith in one being converted
Lament over faith's weakness and prayer for its strengthening
Prayer for a soul in the struggle of repentance.
A loyal soul's longing for assurance of sin-forgiveness
A backslidden soul's renewed repentance and longing for grace.
A converted soul's thanksgiving for repentance
A faithful soul's assurance of sin-forgiveness
Psalm while having conscious joy
During spiritual release and boldness
During great grief
In great anguish of soul
In severe testing
In high spiritual testings
The heaven-longing of a faithful soul
Resurrection hope for the faithful
Heavenly fellowship of the faithful
Hope of eternal life for the faithful
The sighing of the faithful in the death throes

SUPPLEMENT

to the Preceeding Collection of Prof-Psalmboken

First Main Division

Agreement and unity
Against offenses
Against envy
Against sinful extravagance and misuse of God's gifts
Generosity
Against waste of time
Against pride in general
Against pride especially by way of clothing
Humility
Christly living
Current Christianity compared with the Ten Commandments
True and false Christianity
The faults of Christendom and its hindrances
Against false Christendom
Sinful and misused time

Second Main Division

The Apostolic faith
The Evil Angels
God's blessing and praise
Jesus' Name and good deeds
Christ's prophetic ministry
Christ's miracles
Temptation of Christ
Christ's anointing
Christ's intercession
Christ's royal ministry
The end of the world

APPENDIX C

DEN SVENSKA PSALMBOKEN OF 1819 AND ITS ANTECEDENTS

The Revision of Swedish Psalms of 1807

This volume, the work of Michael Choreaus, and J. O. Wallin, was issued in two parts in 1807. Choreaus, whose works appeared posthumously, was considered to have been quite liberal in theology in comparison to the rather conservative Wallin.

The Psalms of 1809

J. O. Wallin contributed fourteen originals to this collection. In no other volume before or since this one do the neologistic and new-styled psalms appear. He is very naturalistic in his teachings about God in this book.

The Psalms of 1811

After much dispute concerning the work of the committee of 1809 appointed by the Riksdag, Wallin suggested that a hymnal be published which would be the work of one man, and in turn offered to the committee such a proposal. The neo-romantic movement in Sweden suggested to Wallin that a hymnal, in addition to its service to the church, should foster an aesthetic in his country among all people.

Wallin himself had been under severe criticism, which criticism moved him in a positive direction of improvement. In the introduction to the 1811 collection he acknowledges the weaknesses of his earlier poetry. The Psalms in this collection mark a decided rise in quality over previous poetry of Wallin but he was yet to attain greater heights in subsequent books.

The Prof-Psalmer of 1812

This hymnal was issued jointly by Franzen and Wallin. Several of the best hymns by Franzen are to be found among those in this collection. A second edition was published in 1813, the work of these two poets.

Forslag till forbattrade Kyrke-Sanger 1814 (Proposals for Improved Church Songs)

This proposal was the work of a committee appointed in 1811. In 1812, when the proposal was nearly ready to be issued, an appeal was made for new songs to fill in the gap. Many were submitted which were of relatively little merit. In the spring of 1814 the committee, assisted by Wallin, scrutinized these songs, and the collection was accepted and printed under the above title. Wallin was not pleased with the final results, mainly because the general scheme was so similar to the old psalmbook.

Förslag till Svensk Psalmbok 1816

While previous psalmbook proposals had been the joint effort of committees and individuals, Wallin's proposal for the "Svensk Psalmbok" of 1816 was entirely his own. He had worked persistently on it and did not feel bound to the opinions of others. He presented his plan to the Committee in 1815 and thereafter sought no help or suggestion. This hymnal became the pattern for the 1819 volume which adhered quite closely to it in its form. The number of psalms was increased to 500 in this collection.

Wallinska Psalmer 1817-18

The Psalm Book Proposal of 1816 was well received and approved by the committee and the general public, although not without some criticism. Wallin himself was his strongest critic. He continued to write a number of new psalms which he published in religious papers during 1817-18 or used in connection with sermons. In 1817 he published a sermon on the errors of the times, in which he included his hymn, "O Thou Who Seest Every Heart." Another was written for use in the dedication of a cemetery in Västeras in 1818.

The Psalmbok of 1819

After a period of intense work from the year of 1811 the committee approved Wallin's proposal in 1818. It was legalized by the king on January 29, 1819, and became the official hymnal for the church of Sweden. Wallin's contribution was the greatest although many other poets of note were among its contributors. The book became very popular not only among the state-church constituency but also among the pietistic and free-church congregations.

Olson has analyzed the contents of this psalmbook from which the following titles and descriptive phrases have been selected:

Psalms for special occasions
Philosophic and abstract psalms
Political psalms
Jesus' teaching on mercy and simplicity
Psalms of pietistic contrition
Pedogical and pastoral psalms
Separation from the world
Homesickness for heaven
Children's psalms[1]

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[1] Olson, op. cit., pp. 57-60.

The Svensk Psalmbok after 1819

Even concerning works of note and popularity disagreements arise and the Psalmbok of 1819 was no exception. Most of the opposition came because of the neology expressed in many of the psalms. J. H. Thomander and Peter Wieselgren published a revised book in 1849 to meet the demands of those who desired such a revision. Further revision was discussed in 1868 but the work proceeded slowly. A large number of private scripts were submitted, some of which are worthy of mention:

Proposal for the Revision of the Svenska Psalmboken
by C. A. Cornelius (1879)

Psalmbok Proposal by some Psalmbok Friends
(1882-83)

Proposal for the Revision of the Svenska Kyrkopsalmboken
by Severin Cavallin (1882)

In 1889 an official proposal was published and rejected and a later revision of 1896 was turned down. Many private and several official proposals followed which were unofficially received and used. These led to the supplement of 1921. Known as the Nya Psalmer, it restored to use many psalms of the 1695 book which Wallin had omitted. Swedish originals from private collections as well as many free-church psalms were included in this supplement. Foremost among the contributors to Nya Psalmer was Johan A. Eklund (1867-1945) who translated and edited twenty-eight selections in addition to his many originals. These are considered to be the best in the Swedish language.

At the behest of the king a new proposal was worked out by Eklund in 1934. He revised psalms from the seventeenth century and translated many from Danish, German and English sources of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. A private proposal was issued by one, Paul Nilsson in 1936. Official proposals were forthcoming in February and September of 1936. These became more decisive. After the official church meeting had worked over these proposals the new Svenska Psalmboken was legalized by the king in 1937.

Since 1950 there has been further agitation for a new hymnal which would meet the requirements of the day regarding contents and the language. A hymnological institute has been formed to undertake the task of revision over a long period of time. At the present time there is also an effort to revise the Choral Book, with the purpose of restoring to use many of the old chorales in their original rhythmic forms.

APPENDIX D

MUSICAL EXAMPLES FROM PSALM OCH SÅNG

German Chorale Settings:

Example I "Ein' Feste Burg"

Example II "Lobe Den Herren"

American Gospel Songs:

Example III "He Leadeth Me"

Example IV "The Old Rugged Cross"

Representative Swedish Gospel Songs:

Example V "Med Gud och Hans Vänskap"

Example VI "Tryggare Kan Ingen Vara"

Example VII "Tack, O Gud, För Vad Som Varit"

TITLE PAGE AND MUSICAL SETTINGS
OF 1697 KORALBOK

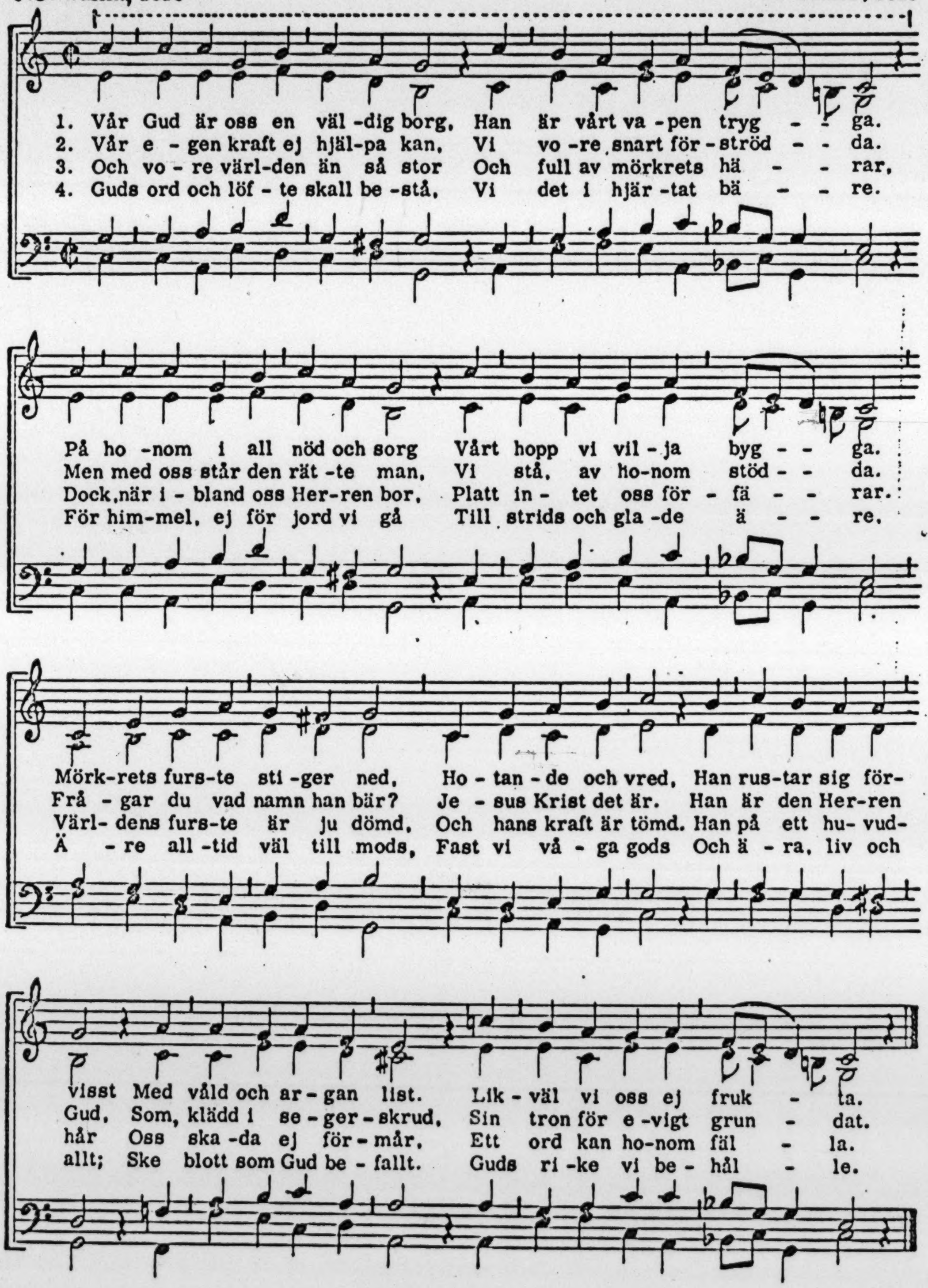
Hand Copied by Eric Wasberg

12. Vår Gud är oss en väldig borg

Mkl 298

M. Luther, 1529
Olaus Petri, 1536
P.A. Sondén, 1816
J.O. Wallin, 1816

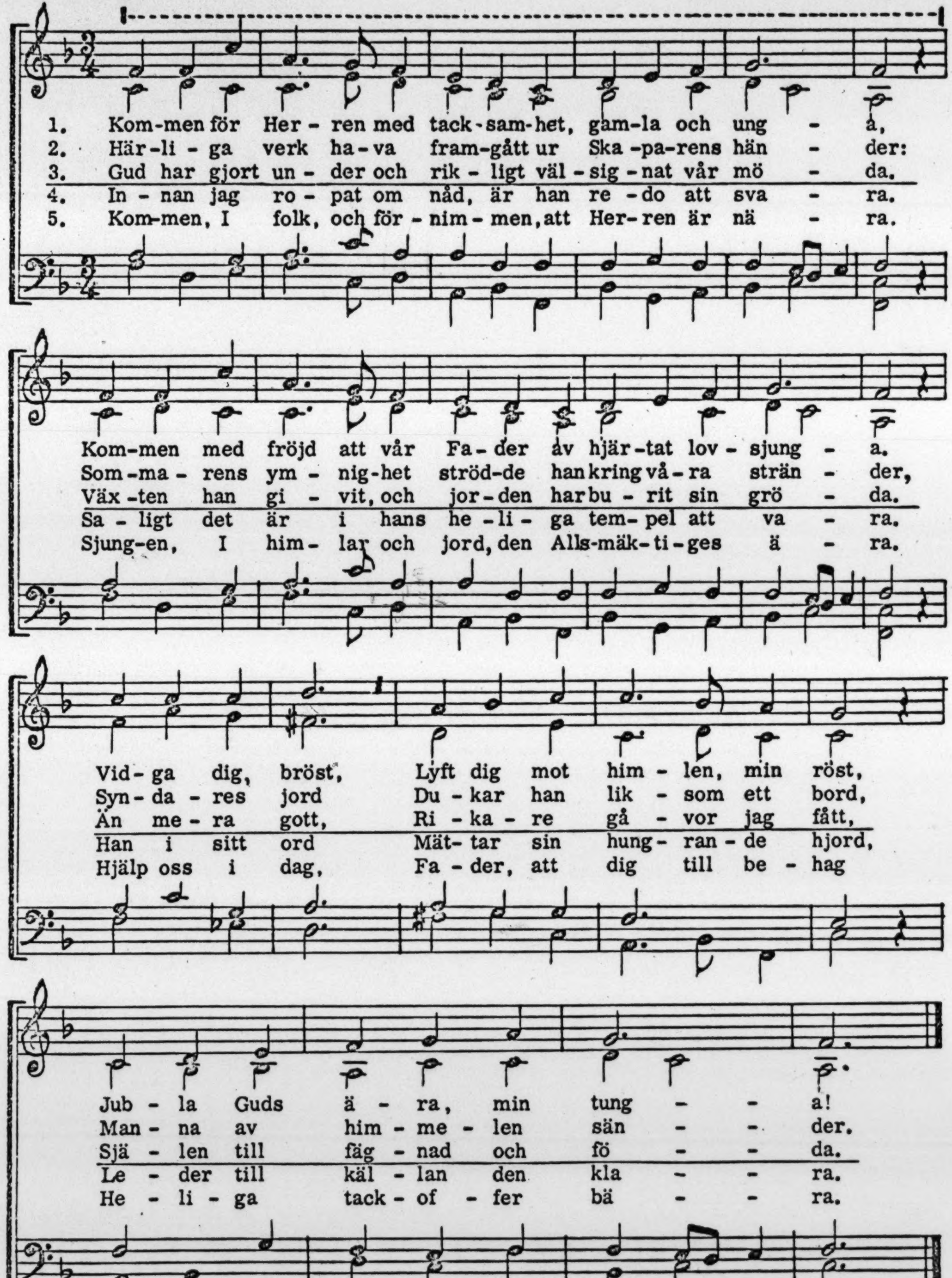
M. Luther, 1529


1. Vår Gud är oss en väl - dig borg, Han är vårt va - pen tryg - - ga.
2. Vår e - gen kraft ej hjäl - pa kan, Vi vo - re snart för - ströd - - da.
3. Och vo - re värl - den än så stor Och full av mörkrets hä - - rar,
4. Guds ord och löf - te skall be - stå, Vi det i hjär - tat bä - - re.
På ho - nom i all nöd och sorg Vårt hopp vi vil - ja byg - - ga.
Men med oss står den rät - te man, Vi stå, av ho - nom stöd - - da.
Dock, när i - bland oss Her - ren bor, Platt in - tet oss för - fä - - rar.
För him - mel, ej för jord vi gå Till strids och gla - de ä - - re.
Mörk - rets furs - te sti - ger ned, Ho - tan - de och vred, Han rus - tar sig för -
Frå - gar du vad namn han bär? Je - sus Krist det är. Han är den Her - ren
Värl - dens furs - te är ju dömd, Och hans kraft är tömd. Han på ett hu - vud -
Ä - re all - tid väl till mods, Fast vi vå - ga gods Och ä - ra, liv och
visst Med våld och ar - gan list. Lik - väl vi oss ej fruk - ta.
Gud, Som, klädd i se - ger - skrud, Sin tron för e - vigt grun - dat.
hår Oss ska - da ej för - mår, Ett ord kan ho - nom fäl - la.
allt; Ske blott som Gud be - fallt. Guds ri - ke vi be - hål - le.

479. Kommen för Herren

Mkl 80

P. Nilsson, 1908 Tysk mel., Stralsund, 1665


1. Kom-men för Her - ren med tack - sam-het, gam-la och ung - a,
2. Här-li - ga verk ha - va fram-gått ur Ska -pa-rens hän - der:
3. Gud har gjort un - der och rik - ligt väl - sig - nat vår mö - da.
4. In - nan jag ro - pat om nåd, är han re - do att sva - ra.
5. Kom-men, I folk, och för - nim - men, att Her-ren är nä - ra.
Kom-men med fröjd att vår Fa - der av hjär-tat lov - sjung - a.
Som-ma - rens ym - nig-het ströd-de han kring vå - ra strän - der,
Väx-ten han gi - vit, och jor-den har bu - rit sin grö - da.
Sa - ligt det är i hans he - li - ga tem-pel att va - ra.
Sjung-en, I him - lar och jord, den Alls-mäk-ti-ges ä - ra.
Vid - ga dig, bröst, Lyft dig mot him - len, min röst,
Syn - da - res jord Du - kar han lik - som ett bord,
Än me - ra gott, Ri - ka - re gå - vor jag fått,
Han i sitt ord Mät-tar sin hung - ran - de hjord,
Hjälp oss i dag, Fa - der, att dig till be - hag
Jub - la Guds ä - ra, min tung - - - a!
Man - na av him - me - len sän - - - der.
Sjä - len till fäg - nad och fö - - - da.
Le - der till käl - lan den kla - - - ra.
He - li - ga tack - of - fer bä - - - ra.

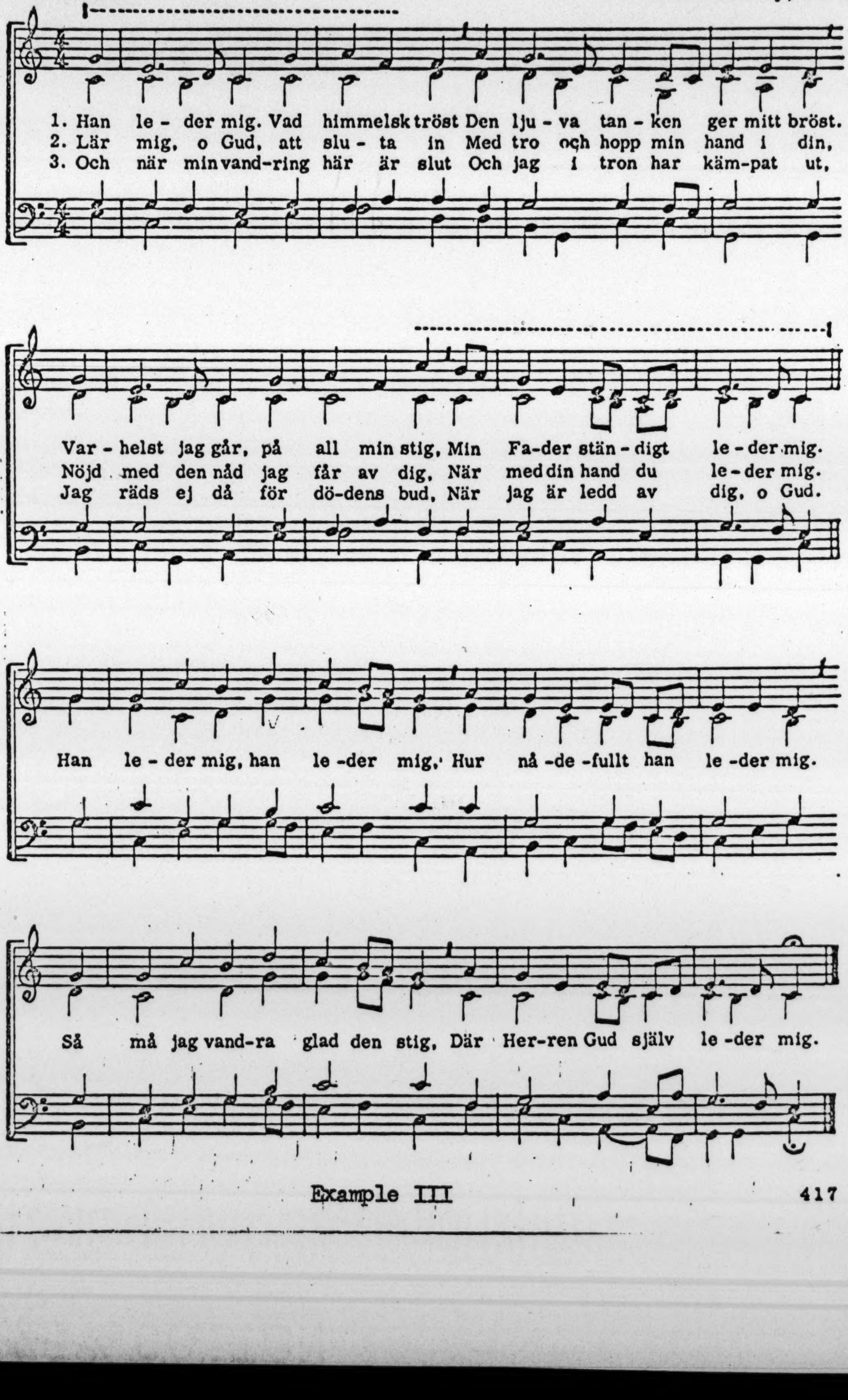
Example II

444. Han leder mig

Mkl 241

J.H. Gilmore, 1859
E. Nyström, 1876
Bearb. 1962

W.B. Bradbury, 1864


1. Han le - der mig. Vad himmelsk tröst Den lju - va tan - ken ger mitt bröst.
2. Lär mig, o Gud, att slu - ta in Med tro och hopp min hand i din,
3. Och när min vand-ring här är slut Och jag i tron har käm-pat ut,
Var - helst jag går, på all min stig, Min Fa-der stän - digt le - der mig.
Nöjd med den nåd jag får av dig, När med din hand du le - der mig.
Jag räds ej då för dö-dens bud, När jag är ledd av dig, o Gud.
Han le - der mig, han le -der mig, Hur nå -de -fullt han le -der mig.
Så må jag vand-ra glad den stig, Där Her-ren Gud själv le -der mig.

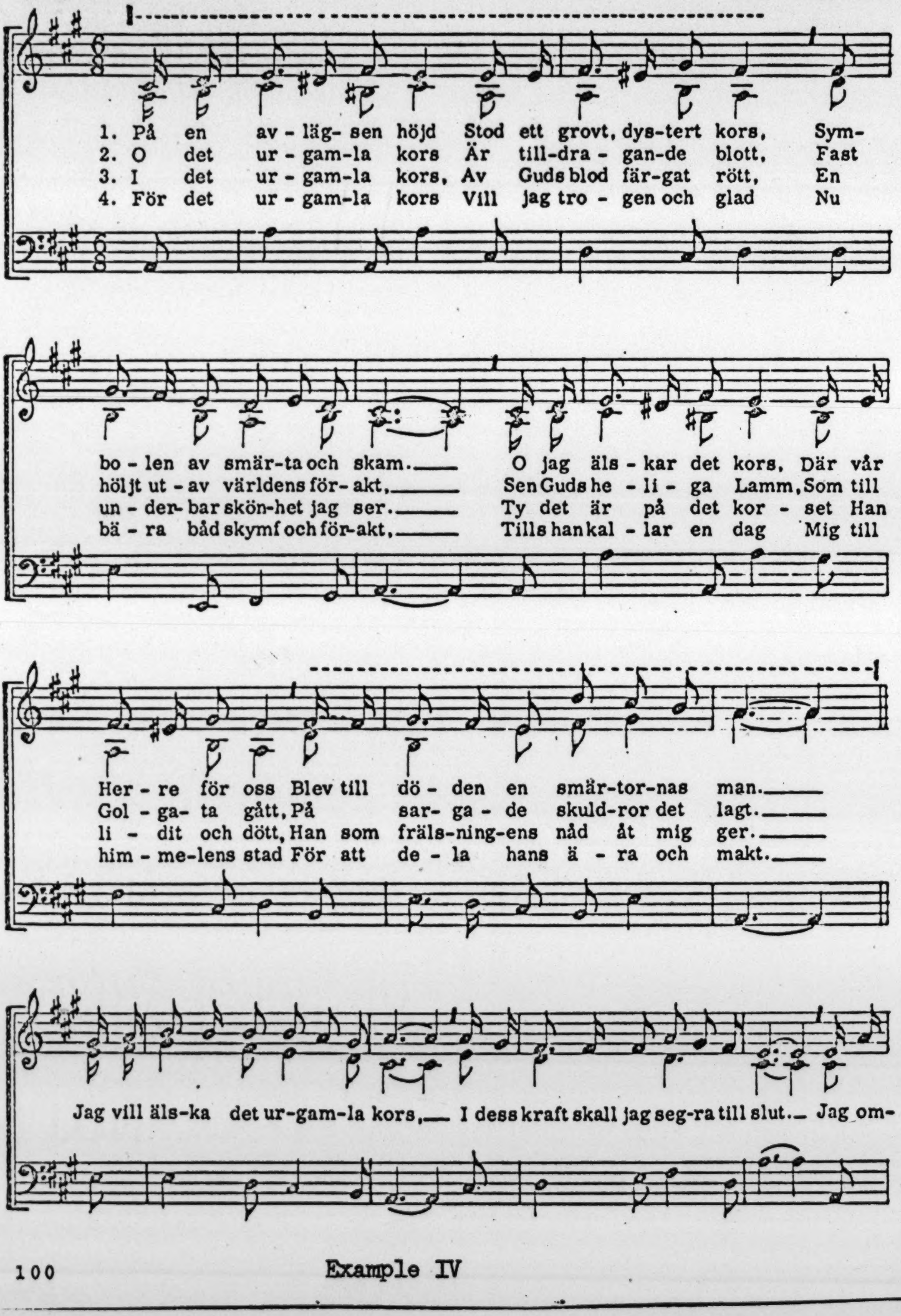
Example III

107. På en avlägsen höjd

Mkl 303

G. Bennard, 1913
A. Aleby, 1925

G. Bennard, 1913


1. På en av - läg- sen höjd Stod ett grovt, dys-tert kors, Sym-
2. O det ur - gam-la kors Är till-dra - gan-de blott, Fast
3. I det ur - gam-la kors, Av Guds blod fär-gat rött, En
4. För det ur - gam-la kors Vill jag tro - gen och glad Nu
bo - len av smär-ta och skam. O jag äls - kar det kors, Där vår
höljt ut - av världens för- akt, Sen Guds he - li - ga Lamm, Som till
un - der- bar skön-het jag ser. Ty det är på det kor - set Han
bä - ra båd skymf och för-akt, Tills han kal - lar en dag Mig till
Her - re för oss Blev till dö - den en smär-tor-nas man.
Gol - ga- ta gått, På sar - ga - de skuld-ror det lagt.
li - dit och dött, Han som fräls - ning-ens nåd åt mig ger.
him - me-lens stad För att de - la hans ä - ra och makt.
Jag vill äls-ka det ur-gam-la kors, I dess kraft skall jag seg-ra till slut. Jag om-

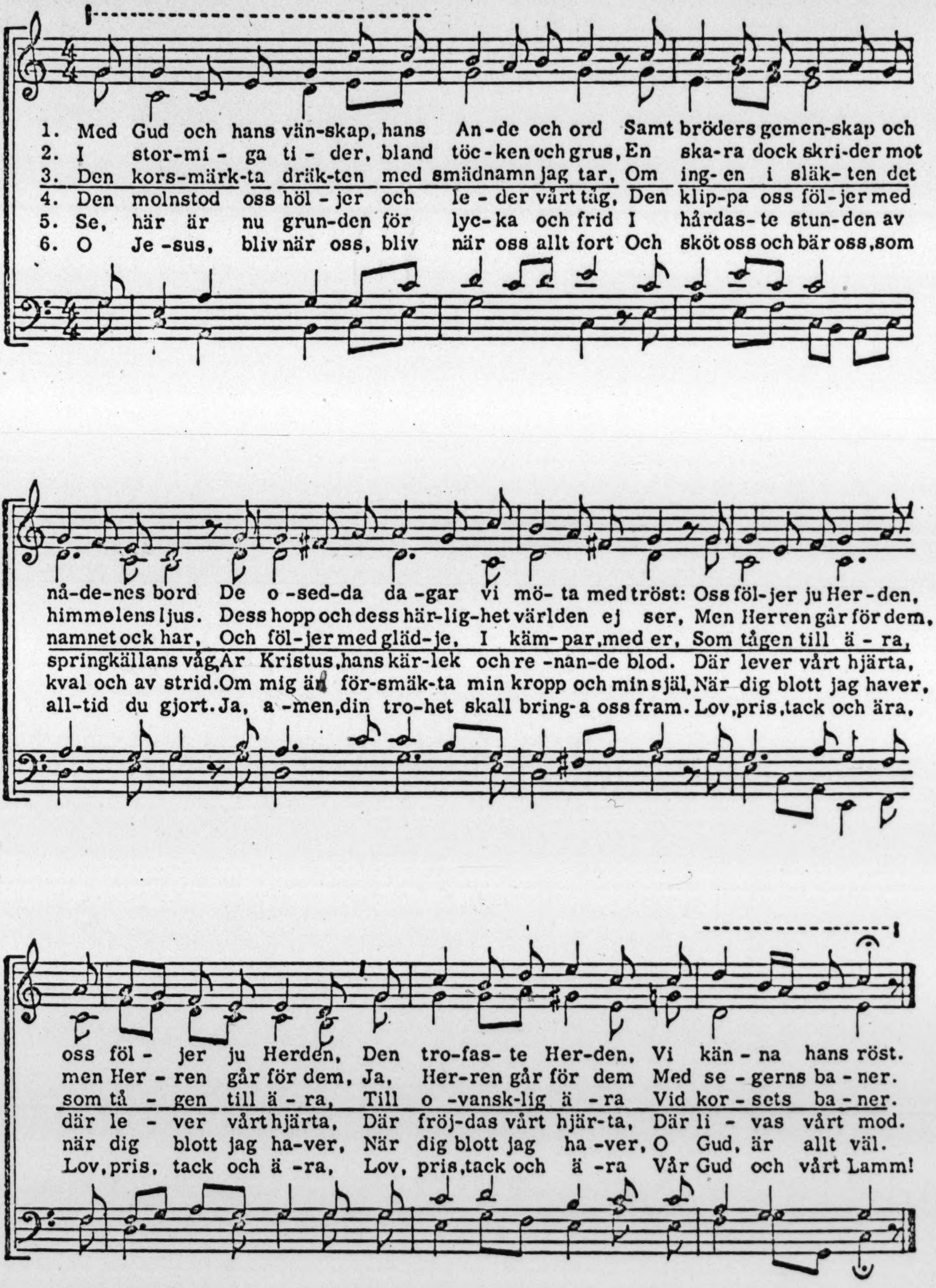
Example IV

236. Med Gud och hans vänskap

Mkl 166

C.O. Rosenius, 1851
Bearb. 1937

O. Ahnfelt, 1851

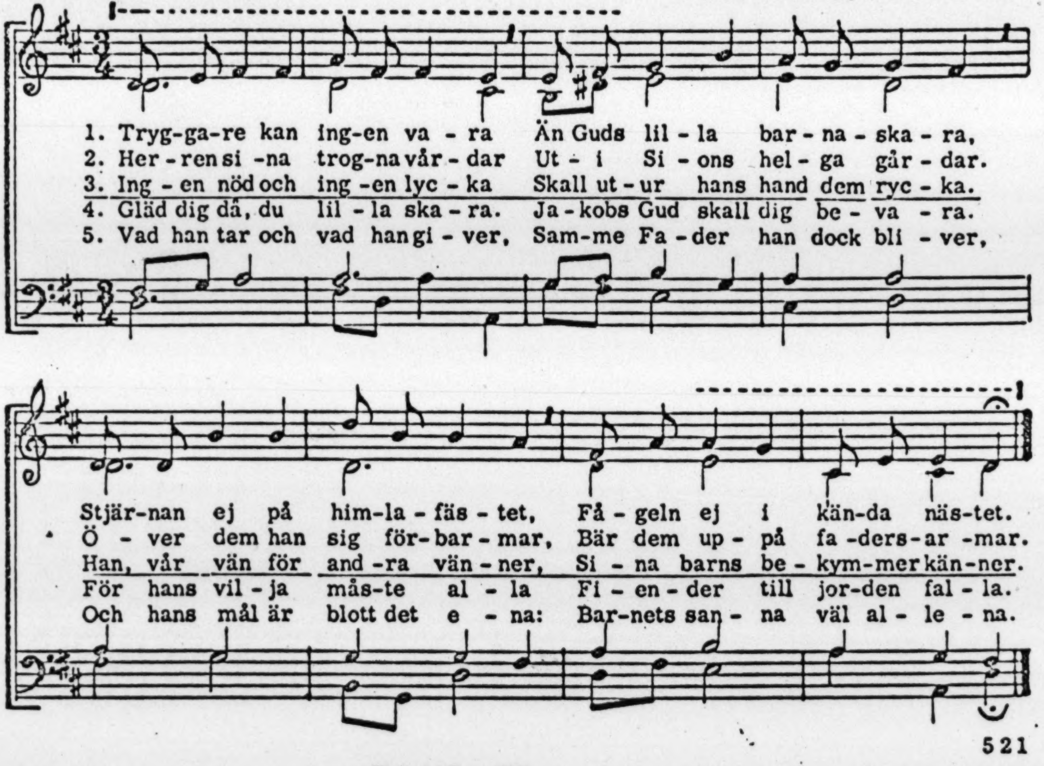

1. Med Gud och hans vän-skap, hans An-de och ord Samt bröders gemen-skap och
2. I stor-mi - ga ti - der, bland töc-ken och grus, En ska-ra dock skri-der mot
3. Den kors-märk-ta dräk-ten med smädnamn jag tar, Om ing-en i släk-ten det
4. Den molnstod oss höl - jer och le - der vårt tåg, Den klip-pa oss föl-jer med
5. Se, här är nu grun-den för lyc-ka och frid I hårdas-te stun-den av
6. O Je -sus, bliv när oss, bliv när oss allt fort Och sköt oss och bär oss, som
nå-de-nes bord De o-sed-da da-gar vi mö-ta med tröst: Oss föl-jer ju Her-den,
himmelens ljus. Dess hopp och dess här-lig-het världen ej ser, Men Herren går för dem,
namnet ock har, Och föl-jer med gläd-je, I käm-par, med er, Som tågen till ä - ra,
springkällans våg. Är Kristus, hans kär-lek och re-nan-de blod. Där lever vårt hjärta,
kval och av strid. Om mig än för-smäk-ta min kropp och min själ, När dig blott jag haver,
all-tid du gjort. Ja, a-men, din tro-het skall bring-a oss fram. Lov, pris, tack och ära,
oss föl - jer ju Herden, Den tro-fas-te Her-den, Vi kän - na hans röst.
men Her - ren går för dem, Ja, Her-ren går för dem Med se - gerns ba - ner.
som tå - gen till ä - ra, Till o-vansk-lig ä - ra Vid kor - sets ba - ner.
där le - ver vårt hjärta, Där fröj-das vårt hjär-ta, Där li - vas vårt mod.
när dig blott jag ha-ver, När dig blott jag ha -ver, O Gud, är allt väl.
Lov, pris, tack och ä -ra, Lov, pris, tack och ä -ra Vår Gud och vårt Lamm!

Example V

557. Tryggare kan ingen vara

Mkl 21

Lina Sandell-Berg, 1855 Svensk folkmel., känd från 1874

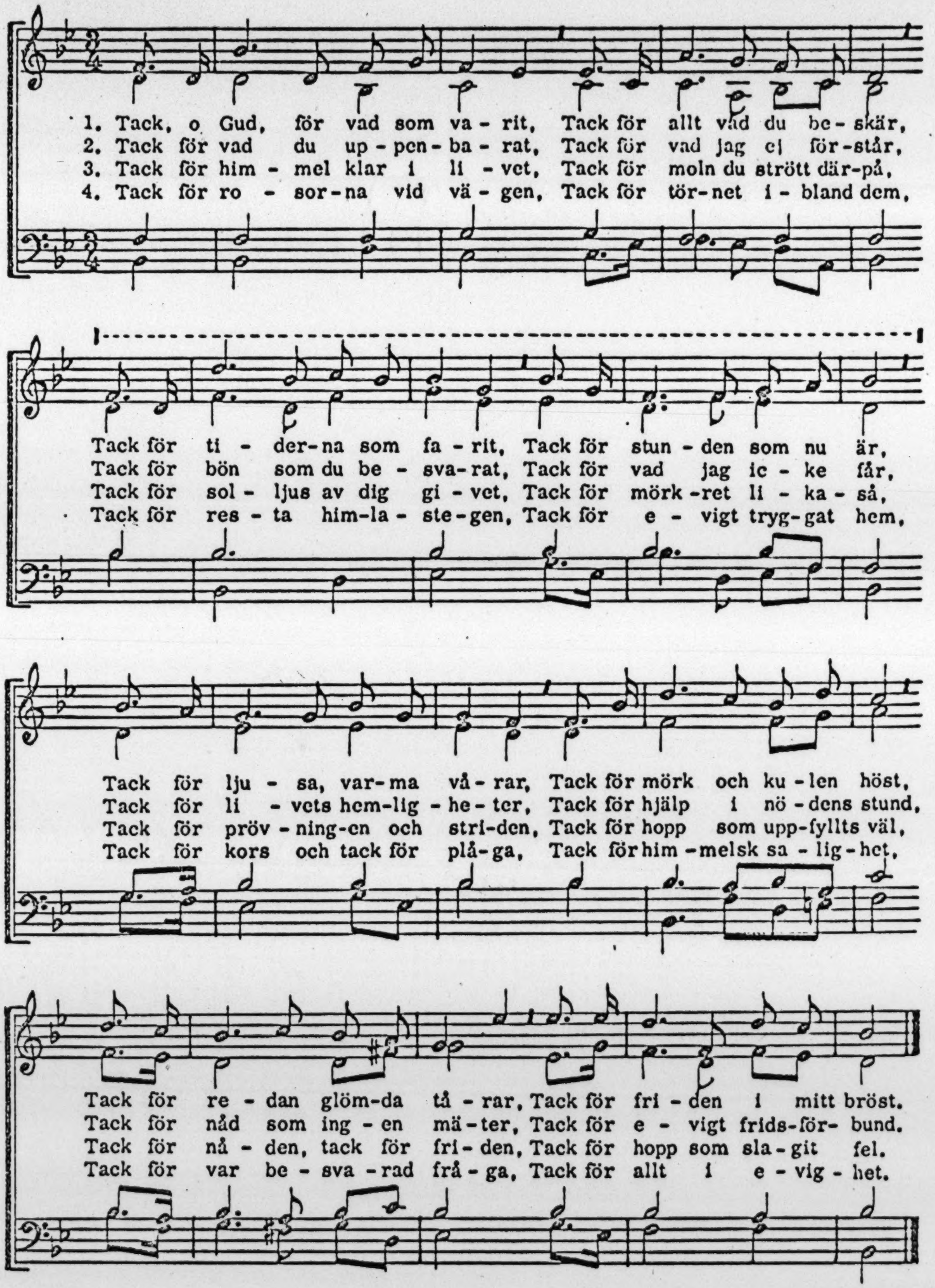

1. Tryg-ga-re kan ing-en va - ra Än Guds lil - la bar - na - ska - ra,
2. Her - ren si - na trog-na vår - dar Ut - i Si - ons hel - ga går - dar.
3. Ing - en nöd och ing - en lyc - ka Skall ut - ur hans hand dem ryc - ka.
4. Gläd dig då, du lil - la ska - ra. Ja - kobs Gud skall dig be - va - ra.
5. Vad han tar och vad han gi - ver, Sam-me Fa - der han dock bli - ver,
Stjär-nan ej på him-la - fäs - tet, Få - geln ej i kän-da näs-tet.
Ö - ver dem han sig för-bar - mar, Bär dem up - på fa - ders-ar - mar.
Han, vår vän för and - ra vän - ner, Si - na barns be - kym-mer kän - ner.
För hans vil - ja mås-te al - la Fi - en - der till jor-den fal - la.
Och hans mål är blott det e - na: Bar-nets san - na väl al - le - na.

Example VI

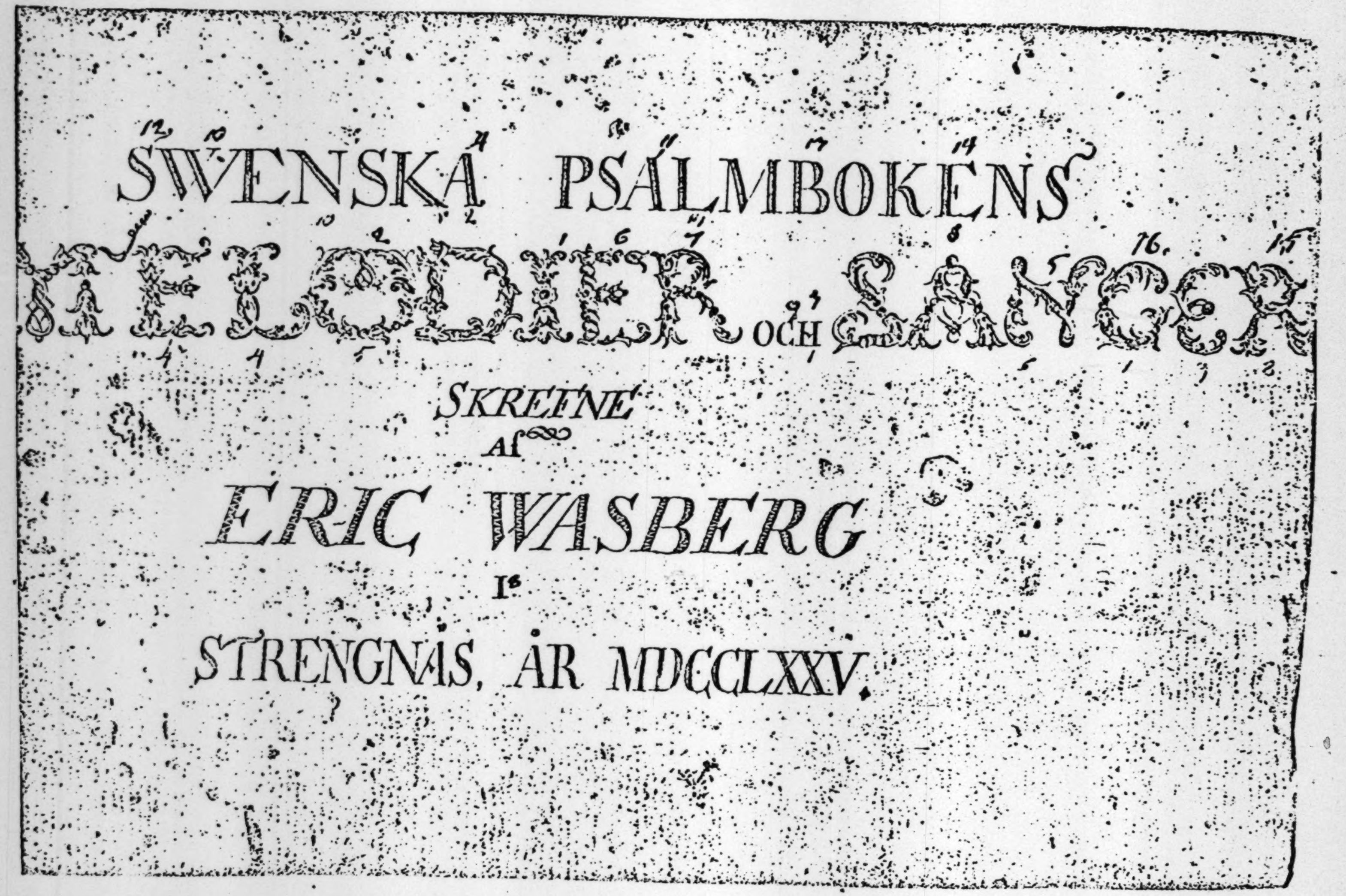
467. Tack, o Gud, för vad som varit

Mkl 222

A. Storm, 1891 J.A. Hultman, 1908

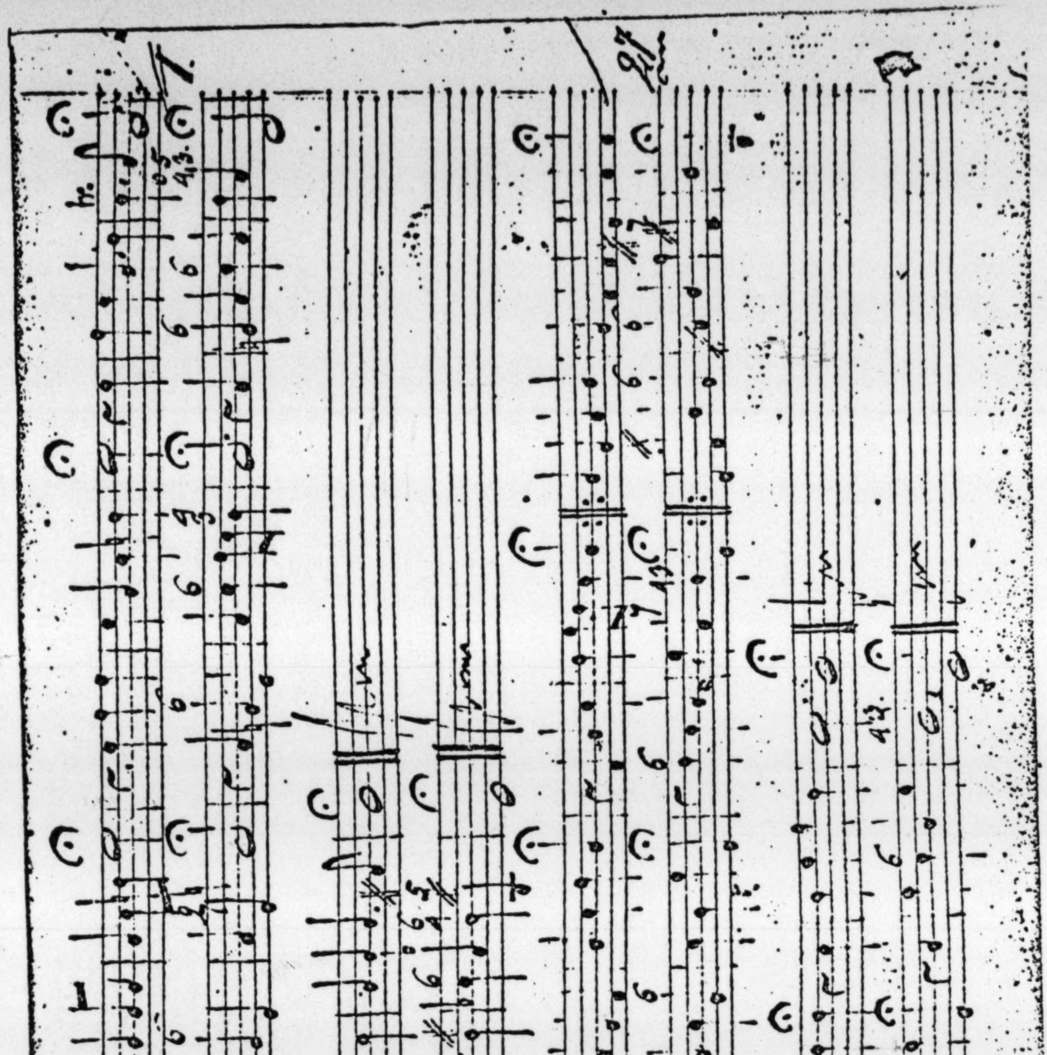

1. Tack, o Gud, för vad som va - rit, Tack för allt vad du be - skär,
2. Tack för vad du up - pen - ba - rat, Tack för vad jag ej för - står,
3. Tack för him - mel klar i li - vet, Tack för moln du strött där - på,
4. Tack för ro - sor - na vid vä - gen, Tack för tör - net i - bland dem,
Tack för ti - der - na som fa - rit, Tack för stun - den som nu är,
Tack för bön som du be - sva - rat, Tack för vad jag ic - ke får,
Tack för sol - ljus av dig gi - vet, Tack för mörk - ret li - ka - så,
Tack för res - ta him - la - ste - gen, Tack för e - vigt tryg - gat hem,
Tack för lju - sa, var - ma vå - rar, Tack för mörk och ku - len höst,
Tack för li - vets hem - lig - he - ter, Tack för hjälp i nö - dens stund,
Tack för pröv - ning - en och stri - den, Tack för hopp som upp - fyllts väl,
Tack för kors och tack för plå - ga, Tack för him - melsk sa - lig - het,
Tack för re - dan glöm - da tå - rar, Tack för fri - den i mitt bröst.
Tack för nåd som ing - en mä - ter, Tack för e - vigt frids - för - bund.
Tack för nå - den, tack för fri - den, Tack för hopp som sla - git fel.
Tack för var be - sva - rad frå - ga, Tack för allt i e - vig - het.

Example VII



SWENSKA PSALMBOKENS
MELODIER och SÅNGER
SKREFNE
AF
ERIC WASBERG
I
STRENGNÄS, ÅR MDCCLXXV.

Title Page of 1697 Koralbok



Musical Settings of 1697 *Koralbok*

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